

# THE STANDARD

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THE STANDARD advocates the abolition of all taxes upon industry and the products of industry, and the taking, by taxation upon land values irrespective of improvements, of the annual rental value of all those various forms of natural opportunities embraced under the general term, Land.

We hold that to tax labor or its products is to discourage industry.

We hold that to tax land values to their full amount will render it impossible for any man to exact from others a price for the privilege of using those bounties of nature in which all living men have an equal right of use; that it will compel every individual controlling natural opportunities to either utilize them by the employment of labor, or abandon them to others; that it will thus provide opportunities of work for all men, and secure to each the full reward of his labor; and that as result involuntary poverty will be abolished, and the greed, intemperance and vice that spring from poverty and the dread of poverty will be swept away.

## THE NEW PRESIDENT.

The inauguration of Mr. Harrison as president of the United States last Monday was witnessed by an enormous throng of people despite a driving rain storm that seriously interfered with the ceremonial part of the day's programme. The fact that so many people were inconvenienced is to be regretted, but the failure of some of the spectacular features of the affair may have a wholesome effect if it tends toward greater simplicity. The peaceful transfer of the vast powers of the presidency from a defeated candidate to his successful contestant is, under almost any circumstances, an impressive event, but in this instance it is all the more remarkable because the retiring president received a majority of the votes cast and the new incumbent was unquestionably chosen by a minority of the people, though in accord with the terms of the law that renders such a choice possible. Such a transfer of power demonstrates how deep-seated is the respect of our people for law, but its impressiveness is very largely due to the fact that the change is peaceable and unforced. The growing disposition to surround the event with the pomp and pageantry attending a royal accession detracts from its dignity, and the impressiveness of a purely civic and peaceful ceremony is marred by the ever increasing display of military power in the inaugural procession.

However, after such fashion as best suits the caprice of the time, Mr. Harrison has been inaugurated, and he has given in his inaugural address the first opportunity offered our people for forming a judgment as to his qualifications for the great office he has just assumed. The speech is certainly a disappointing one to all who share the patriotic desire that the president of the United States shall make a creditable appearance in the performance of every duty devolving upon him. As a literary production it is below mediocrity and in no respect does it rise above the level of an ordinary stump speech. Its opening paragraphs read like a tame Fourth of July oration spiced with a little conventional piety. The usual boasting of our growth in wealth and population is varied by an unintentionally amusing metaphor worthy of Sir Boyle Roche. Speaking of the rapid removal of the center of population westward, Mr. Harrison declares that "that which was once the body"—meaning our eastern population—"has come to be only the rich fringe of the nation's robe."

But inaugural addresses and presiden-

tial messages are not to be judged on their literary merits. The question concerning them is,—Do they reveal the purpose of a strong man, clearly expressed, no matter how uncouthly? If they do they serve their purpose and justly command popular respect. So far as Mr. Harrison is concerned, we must look for our answer to this question in those portions of his message that treat of the tariff, the surplus and the so-called "Southern question," since these are the questions on which the election turned, so far as appeals to reason, prejudice or passion had any weight with voters.

In his treatment of the tariff question Mr. Harrison calls what he evidently regards as history to his aid. He does not go quite back to the time when the people of the infant republic were, with a true and sound instinct, seeking through their ambassadors to open up with all mankind that absolute freedom of trade which they had established among themselves. He prefers to start a few years later, when there was something of a craze to resent England's protective policy by forcing the home manufacture of inferior goods and for seeking by futile patriotic pledges to make people content with cotton jeans and linsey woolsey. It seems almost impossible that any man of ordinary intelligence should attempt to exalt that transitory and childish episode into a serious historical precedent, but not only does Mr. Harrison attempt this, but he actually professes to find in such precedent the basis for a permanent national policy. He calls the performance that resulted in giving him the necessary number of electoral votes, "a revival at the end of the century of the same patriotic interest in the preservation and development of domestic industries and the defense of our working people against injurious foreign competition" which led our enthusiastic but ill informed forefathers to pledge themselves to wear nothing but homespun, when better goods were obtainable more cheaply through the natural course of trade. Yet a few hours after this Mr. Harrison was to witness, at the inaugural ball, the dress parade of the plutocratic beneficiaries of protection decked out in the costliest raiment that the looms of Europe and the Orient could produce.

Having presented this surprising historical plea for the perpetuation of the protective system, Mr. Harrison turns to the people of the south and asks them to join in upholding that system, and blandly assures them that they can speedily enrich themselves by entering into a sharp competition with established rivals for the control of a market already overstocked and which he proposes to keep overstocked, by the restrictive policy for which he pleads. The president also kindly hints to the southern protectionists that they will find in the black men about them voters well prepared to support the protective policy. The irony with which he subsequently intimates that the real difficulty with these same black voters is their dense ignorance is doubtless unintended. In fact, the whole message gives frequent illustrations of the effect of a deficient sense of humor in marring a man's logic and consistency.

But while Mr. Harrison thus commends a policy that has deprived us of the power to trade on favorable terms with other peoples, and which has driven our flag from the seas, the Fourth of July sentiment that marked the beginning of his address

causes him, when his attention is turned to our foreign relations, to declare that the commercial rights and interests of our citizens must be protected. He dwells on the importance of maintaining coaling stations for the convenience of a navy that he proposes to build to take care of the American steamship lines yet to be established by bounties drawn from the pockets of a nation of land lubbers, made so by the very policy that he seeks to perpetuate.

Having thus far given in his adhesion to the worst notions of the wildest school of protectionists, Mr. Harrison naturally enough sees little cause for alarm in the existing surplus in the treasury. He admits that a large surplus is an evil, but hints that one of moderate size is a handy thing to have around. Wastefulness, profligacy or favoritism in public expenditures is criminal, he says, but straightway he points out that there is a navy to be built and equipped, that there are steamship lines to be "encouraged," that there are pensioners ready to have their pensions increased, and if all these demands do not dispose of an annually recurring surplus he truly declares that it will be easy to diminish the revenue of the government without injury to our protective tariff.

Having in his discussion of the tariff question suggested to the protectionist democrats of the south that the negroes who vote the republican ticket, without regard to principles or ideas, offer material prepared to hand for the building up of a protectionist party, Mr. Harrison hints that those who have recently begun to clamor for better safeguards for pure elections are a little late in their demand for a free ballot and a fair count. He throws out a pretty broad intimation that if something is not done to change the conditions under which elections are conducted in the south, congress may, even at this late day, feel called upon to exercise its constitutional right to provide its own machinery for the election of its own members. Why congress did not do this before, in the heat of the reconstruction days, Mr. Harrison does not explain, but he will probably find out the reason if in some future message he shall ask the representatives of Massachusetts, for instance, to vote to transfer this power from the state to congress. However, Mr. Harrison is to be commended for confining his only suggestion of a threat to action that is clearly within the power of congress, if it shall ever attempt to legislate for all of the states, instead of a few, in the matter of federal elections.

Mr. Harrison's defective sense of humor causes him to fall into a notable blunder in discussing this subject. He asks: "How shall those who practice election frauds recover that respect for the sanctity of the ballot which is the first condition and obligation of good citizenship?" And he says, "the man who has come to regard the ballot box as a juggler's hat has renounced his allegiance." In the first official utterance of a man elected to the presidency by the wholesale bribery tactics of Matt Quay, assisted by the infamous Dudley and his "floaters in blocks of five"—of a man who has put John Wanamaker in his cabinet as a reward for raising the money thus used by Quay and Dudley—such a pretense to regard for the sanctity of the ballot box is simply grotesque.

So far as Mr. Harrison can be judged by his first public utterance, he is, above all else, a dull man. His inaugural address is simply a feeble and confused echo of the protectionist stump speeches of the last campaign. It does not present a single argument in support of its bald assumption that whatever measure of prosperity our people enjoy is due to the protective system. Though Mr. Harrison repeats the stale boasts about our teeming population, our vast area and our unrivaled natural resources, there does not seem to have dawned on his mind so much as a suspicion that the one absorbing question of the present and of the future is why those resources are so completely monopolized by the few that the many grow relatively poorer from year to year in the midst of rapidly increasing wealth that their labor produces for the benefit of others. From the beginning to the end there is not in the whole message a single evidence of that quick sympathy with popular feeling that oftentimes enables even duller men than Mr. Harrison to leap to wise conclusions and high resolves. It is as lacking in force and originality as in sympathy. It does not contain any new thought, if we except the silly attempt to exalt a laughable incident into a serious historical precedent, and it contains no old thought or truism so expressed as to lend it additional force. There is a trace of political cunning in the bait thrown out to the southern protectionists, but even here it is questionable whether real shrewdness is shown by attempting to bait that hook with the negro voter. The allusions to civil service reform are certainly not such as to fill with enthusiasm the well meaning devotees to the system, while the passages relating to our foreign policy, though, on the whole, satisfactory, are marred by a slight touch of jingoism apparently uncalled for by anything in the present situation. Like all the rest of the address, they are thoroughly commonplace, and there is not in the whole utterance a word or sentence suggestive of any capacity for statesmanship.

But presidents cannot be judged entirely by their inaugural addresses. Very stupid men, when well advised, have given us excellent administration. Mr. Harrison's inaugural address simply shows that, so far as he is concerned, the only question of importance concerning his administration is, Who will be his advisers? Unhappily, we do not have to wait for an answer to this question. James G. Blaine, of Maine, is the real cabinet of the new president, though a number of other gentlemen will occupy positions as heads of departments and his nominal constitutional advisers. William Windom, secretary of the treasury, has held the place before, and given evidence of some administrative talent, but even his admirers have not dreamed of ranking him with the so-called "great" secretaries of the treasury. He has, ever since his previous incumbency, been a dabbler in stocks in Wall street, and he is supposed to be a very wealthy man, closely connected with numerous great corporations. Redfield Proctor, secretary of war, was once governor of Vermont, and apparently owes his place to the facts that in the Chicago convention he was one of the few original Harrison men, and that he practically monopolizes the marble quarries of his native state, and has thereby become a very wealthy man. Mr. Miller,

the new attorney general, appears to have the double qualification of having been the president's law partner and of bearing the name of William Henry Harrison. General John W. Noble of Missouri, another man but little known, is made secretary of the interior. General Benjamin F. Tracy of Brooklyn, appointed secretary of the navy, is a successful lawyer and nothing more. Jeremiah Rusk, who fills the new post of secretary of agriculture, is a wealthy lumber baron who sought the presidential nomination himself by the use of money, and he has certainly never given evidence of large views in governmental matters. Finally, John Wannamaker, a Philadelphia dealer in notions, is appointed postmaster general simply on the ground that he furnished a large proportion of the corruption fund used to procure the election of Harrison. Mr. Wannamaker's success in the dry goods business probably proves that he has the qualities requisite to the successful management of the details of the post office department, but in the position of a constitutional adviser he presents a spectacle unique in the history of politics. Doubtless his own intimates are surprised that he should have even had opinions on the tariff, though such opinions are easily had at second hand in Philadelphia, and his activity in the canvass just closed can only be accounted for by the promise of such an advertisement as his genius in that line has hitherto failed to achieve for him. From none of these men can Mr. Harrison expect the advice that his inaugural message proves he so badly needs, and therefore it is but reasonable to suppose that his one constitutional adviser will be his secretary of state.

It is practically useless to enter at this late day on any consideration of the character or achievements of James G. Blaine. The verdict of history is already recorded, and the party that in a shame-faced way has worshiped this audacious adventurer has not even dared to present him for a second time for the suffrages of the American people. Absolutely unscrupulous as to measures, thoroughly dishonest as to aims, his appointment to a high place is a burning and a blistering disgrace to the American people, and it stamps in advance with every mark of hypocrisy the pious pretensions of the president who has made him his chief adviser.

Taking the inaugural address and the cabinet appointments together, there is no escape from the conclusion that this is to be a Blaine administration, unless the universal public recognition of a fact so patent shall cause the new president to quarrel with the man to whom he has in the beginning surrendered the high powers of his office. The country has seen Blaine in this position once before, and watched his performance with no little alarm. It will watch him again with apprehension. If he attempts any more diplomacy of the Peruvian order, there will be grave danger and genuine alarm. Aside from this he can inflict no lasting injury on a people who have shown their ability to survive the infliction of just such administration as he will inevitably give us.

W. T. CROASDALE.

Henry George left on the North German Lloyd steamship *Ems* on Saturday, March 2, for Southampton, to engage in a three months' lecture tour. Commencing in London on March 13, he will speak in all the principal cities and towns in Great Britain. Frequent letters from him, descriptive of his trip, will appear in THE STANDARD.

#### Several Meeting Places in Baltimore.

BALTIMORE, Md.—The single tax league of Maryland is now firmly established here. We have secured central headquarters at 18 and 20 Park street, which is to be kept open day and night, where the friends of the cause may drop in at any time. The regular meet-

ing night for the transaction of business will be Thursdays of each week. The league would be pleased to receive donations of books and other things that many of our people could contribute to the cause. We have an organization that meets at 425 South Broadway every night; also the West Baltimore men have organized the Eighteenth ward club, which meets every Tuesday at the Baltimore and Ohio hall, Burke and McHenry streets. Any one desirous of contributing books, papers, pictures, etc., may address a postal to the secretary and he will call for them. JOHN JONES, Secretary, 125 North Bond street.

#### GOD SPEED TO HENRY GEORGE.

The Manhattan Single Tax Club, headed by the Single Tax Band, goes to the steamer to wish him success.

The members and friends of the Manhattan single tax club gathered at the club rooms, 8 St. Mark's place, last Friday evening, in order to march in body to the steamer *Ems*, lying across the river at Hoboken, to bid Henry George good by and God speed on his departure for Great Britain. A little before nine o'clock the club fell into line, and headed by Beggs's single tax band marched down to Clinton place, to Greenwich avenue, to Christopher street ferry, and crossing to Hoboken, marched to the steamer's dock.

Loud cheers greeted Mr. George when he appeared on the gang plank. William McCabe, the marshal of the club, presented him to the members and expressed their good wishes. In responding, Mr. George thanked the club for the honor paid him. He spoke but briefly, explaining that he wanted to save his voice for work on the other side of the water; but promised when he returned, which would be about the middle of July, to make a long address. The single tax movement, he said, was making great strides on both sides of the water, and he made this journey with greater confidence than ever before. At the conclusion of his remarks, Mr. George stepped down on the wharf and was immediately surrounded by friends eager to shake his hand. While this was going on the band played a number of spirited selections.

After a stay of nearly an hour the club again fell into line and amid loud cheering started on its homeward march. Early in the evening when the long line was forming before the club house and the band playing, the windows on each side of St. Marks place flew open and the streets rapidly filled up with people who wondered what it all meant. When the crowds were informed who the paraders were and what the object of the parade was there was a general curiosity to know more. Now and again some one asked the meaning of the words "single tax" used in the banner "Manhattan single tax club." An explanation followed and a stump speech delivered on the spot.

The result of this was that, when the march started, a number of outsiders hung on the flanks listening to what the men in line had to say. From the rooms to the ferry the club was converted into a sort of perambulating Progress and Poverty class.

Along the line of march there was considerable interest manifested. The banner of the club puzzled the people.

"Manhattan single tax club?" queried a man looking from a window. "What is that?"

"Oh," answered a companion, "they don't amount to anything."

"Don't, eh?" said the first speaker. "Well, they must amount to something, for four or five hundred men are following that banner."

Said a man while the club was crossing Eighth avenue: "You're a nice lot of blokes. Going down to Harrison's inauguration, eh?"

#### The English Single Tax Campaign.

London Star.

The arrangements for the "lecture campaign" of the great apostle of single tax land nationalisation, are rapidly progressing under Mr. W. Saunders's management. A large preliminary meeting of sympathisers will be held at the Westminster Palace hotel at eight p.m. on the 20th inst. Mr. George arrives and will open the campaign in London at the Camberwell Green Chapel on March 12. Large meetings are already definitely arranged at Bermondsey and Woolwich for the middle of the month, but Mr. George is due at Bristol on the 25th, and will then speak in several towns of South Wales. Westminster Chapel claims him for April 1, and other meetings follow at Lambeth, Wandsworth, and Stratford. On April 12, he is off to Carlisle, and will rouse Durham and Tyneside in a series of demonstrations extending up to April 20. At Newcastle he will be the guest of Dr. Spence Watson, of the National Liberal Federation. Scotland will claim him up to May 11, when a week will be devoted to the Birmingham district. The rest of his three months is not yet finally allotted, but applications keep pouring in from every quarter. A marked feature is the interest shown by the various religious organizations, and in more than one center Mr. George will hold informal "receptions" of the local ministers.

#### A Contemporary's View of It.

Buffalo News.

Unhappy England! afflicted with its Le Caron, Pigott and "Jack the Ripper," it is to be further disturbed by Henry George, who has a three months' engagement there to deliver public addresses on his single tax theory.

#### THE PERIL OF FRANCE.

**The Man on Horseback Gathering Strength—The Flow of the Tide—A Great Opportunity.**

ROUEN, France, Feb. 18.—This would be a great year to start a single tax movement in France. The public mind seems to be opened by the recollections of the revolution, and some seed might spring up. Opportunities like these are more than ever valuable in France, where I do not believe the general public have the best idea of liberty. With them it is largely a question of money. Some of the most enthusiastic republicans say that times were better under the empire, as if liberty were to be estimated by gold. Witness the popular feeling at the time of the great Napoleon. scarcely ten years after the great revolution they were doing their utmost to drive all popular liberty out of Europe; and to-day, at this very hour, when Boulanger is being derided by the advanced republicans, these very same people will let tears creep into their eyes at the thought of Napoleon. If Napoleon were to rise from his tomb to-morrow I do not doubt that every knee except among the Orleanists and Bourbons, would touch the ground.

It is not hard to find the cause. If republicanism under existing social conditions has failed in America, what has it not done here? I cannot imagine a life more theoretically free and more practically limited than the life of the average Frenchman. He lives and dies with but one hope—that some day France may whip Germany. In that hope he bends his patriotic back to support his cancer-like army and all the taxing vultures that pick away at the life of the nation. She has about as much need of a grand army as I have of another hand. When these monopolists want to shut out competition they get somebody to yell "Germany!" in the chamber of deputies, and forthwith another tax is put somewhere, and the people chuckle and say: "Ah! that means so many dead Germans some day."

The army is considered a sort of family fire-side protection. What the tariff does regarding the outside world the grand army does for the interior. When you talk about disbanding the army to a Frenchman he just shrugs his shoulders and says: "Where'll the soldiers go, what will they do? Even with all them to supply with food, etc., we haven't enough work to go around." And if you can't get the single tax into his head, he's got you fast.

Although in the past three years the drawing of lots for army service has lost all the element of chance, and is now simply a French polite way of telling you to "come along and take your knapsack," there are few that regret the service unless they are in the upper walks of business where wages promise better. They figure it out something like this: "I give three years of my young life for service, but after that no more service unless in case of war. As I shall reasonably live until sixty, I shall have all the time from twenty-two to sixty, the great army to take a million competitors out of the field every year."

The agitation for Boulanger is something more than skin deep. It voices the great, the general unrest, the feeling that there is something wrong somewhere. I have been surprised to find the number of intelligent men who are Boulangists. With this agitation to help the thing along, great things might be done if only some French Edward Atkinson would start in to demolish the single tax.

W. E. HICKS.

#### Prospering in St. Louis.

ST. LOUIS—The league met on Tuesday evening last with an increased attendance. Four new names were added to the list of members and eight persons applied for membership. Mr. H. A. Tewkbury "owned up" that he had printed the picture found on the wall at the last meeting night, and also presented a neat sign to the league in gold letters on a black ground, bearing the words, "St. Louis Single Tax League. Open Every Evening." Melvin H. Palmer, a carpenter, offered to have it hung between the front windows. F. H. Burgess, editor of the Western Building Association Journal, presented the league with half a dozen building association papers, printed in different parts of the country, all of which announced their intention of following the lead of the St. Louis journal in discussing the single tax. Mr. Burgess then signed the application for membership.

After reading "The Problem" from "Progress and Poverty," and discussing it in an informal manner for three-quarters of an hour, the meeting adjourned. Regular meetings every Tuesday evening. Strangers, friends or foes cordially invited to attend.

There has been an encouraging attendance at the rooms during the week. The league desires to get the address of single tax men in Missouri. Any lecturer for the cause can make dates with the secretary.

B. E. BLOOM, Secretary,  
919 Olive street.

#### Do You Think You Meet Often Enough?

The Sangamon single tax club of Springfield, Ill., meets on the first Monday evening of each month at Woodman's hall, corner Sixth street and Commercial alley. The public are invited.

JAMES H. MCNEA,  
Secretary.

#### THE MANHATTAN SINGLE TAX CLUB.

**An Address by Henry Terry—Getting Ready to Celebrate the Decennial Anniversary of "Progress and Poverty"—Approving the Saxon Bill.**

On Sunday evening Henry Terry delivered his address on "The capitalist's side of the labor question." He was attentively listened to, though at times he said some very harsh things of the people whom he addressed. Evidently he had expected other treatment, for at the close of the meeting he took occasion to say that friends had advised him not to deliver the address before the club, and he thanked the members for the kind manner in which he had been treated. Mr. Terry's propositions were these: (1) The capitalist and laborer ought to be brought together, each to work for the good of the other; (2) the capitalists were the most moral class; (3) and by virtue of natural superiority they would always be the leaders of the common people. The speakers who debated the questions, with the exception of some socialistic orators, agreed with the speaker regarding his first proposition; but concerning the other two they differed from him very widely; and the opinion seemed to be that they had cornered the gentleman. Because of its novelty, the meeting was a very interesting one.

Professor De Leon addresses the club next Sunday on "The strategy of the labor movement."

The agitation committee of the club had received instructions to prepare for the proper celebration of the tenth anniversary of the completion of "Progress and Poverty." On Sunday afternoon, in obedience to the instructions, the committee met jointly with a committee from the Harlem single tax club and adopted the following:

Resolved, That the tenth anniversary of the publication of "Progress and Poverty" be suitably celebrated by a mass meeting to be held in Cooper Union on Jefferson's birthday on the evening of April 2d.

All single tax clubs are urged to co-operate in making this a great demonstration. The secretary was instructed to send a copy of these resolutions to the various single tax clubs in the vicinity, requesting each of them to send three delegates to perfect arrangements.

The delegates will meet in the rooms of the Manhattan single tax club on March 17th, at 3 p.m.

Wm. McCABE, Temp. Chairman,

Benj. DOBLIN, Temp. Sec.

At the business meeting on Thursday a resolution was adopted and ordered sent to the legislature notifying that body that the club approved the Saxon reform bill as offered at the opening of the present session; also, a committee was appointed to revise the constitution of the club, this step being considered necessary on account of the rapid growth of the organization.

On Friday evening the club marched over to Hoboken in a body to bid farewell to Henry George before his departure for England.

The gifts in books have been very generous—so generous, indeed, that the capacity of the old bookcase, the tables and the mantel pieces have been more than reached. So the indefatigable financial secretary of the club has decided that a large bookcase must be procured.

#### The West Side Single Tax Club Flourishing.

The West side single tax club elected the following officers last Thursday: Dr. David Work, president; William J. Browne and Frank Sullivan, vice-presidents; C. Orlo Allen, secretary, and George A. Hollis, treasurer. E. P. Ingersoll and Thomas Taylor were elected members of the executive committee.

The suggestion of J. W. Sullivan in last week's STANDARD in regard to the organization of a "Letter Writing Corps" met with general approval and a decision to act upon it at once.

The article which appeared in THE STANDARD entitled "Bondage of Bonds" having excited considerable interest, it was decided to invite the author, Bradford Du Bois, to deliver a lecture before the club on the "Money" question on Thursday evening, March 7, at the rooms, 400 Eighth avenue, between Thirty-fourth and Thirty-fifth streets. Mr. Du Bois will gladly do so. All interested are invited. The membership of the club is steadily increasing.

#### Conversations in Pittsburgh.

PITTSBURG.—The Pittsburg single tax league organized permanently on Monday evening, February 25. The meeting was well attended and after electing Mr. Thomas Grundy president, John B. Sharpe vice-president, Mark F. Roberts secretary, we had a real old fashioned experience meeting, every member stating in what manner and when he became a single tax man, and bringing out the fact that every member was formerly a protectionist and that the majority owe their conversion to absolute free trade to the single tax literature and THE STANDARD. Messrs. Watson, Horrocks and Roberts were appointed to draft constitution and by-laws. We have a good hall in the central part of the city and hope all single tax men of this vicinity will give their aid in advancing the cause. We meet the second and fourth Monday evening of each month, and those who cannot attend and would like to help the organization along are invited to communicate with the secretary. MARK F. ROBERTS, Sec'y, 1737 Carey alley.

## ACROSS THE SEA.

## PHASES OF THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN.

An Interesting Letter from Rev. Harold Rylett—Preparations for a Lively Campaign—Significant Utterances of the Bishop of York—Some Facts About the Black Country and Its People.

DUDLEY, Birmingham, England, Feb. 19.—The preparations for the Henry George campaign are in a forward state. On March 13 the campaign proper will be opened at a large meeting in London. There will follow some meetings in Wales, the first of which is to take place on March 26. Another meeting follows in London on March 30. Arrangements are in progress for meetings in Lancashire, commencing on April 8. Other meetings follow in Durham district, commencing April 14. Scotland follows, and will occupy Mr. George from April 22 until May 13, when the meetings begin in the Birmingham district. Mr. George will address meetings in Wolverhampton, Walsall, Wednesbury, Dudley, Coventry and Birmingham. Then there will be other meetings in London, and in June the campaign will close with meetings in Belfast and Dublin.

The development of the social problem in Great Britain is so remarkable and the symptoms of that development are so numerous that it would be impossible to record them all. But the recent utterance of the archbishop of York may be taken as indicative of the direction in which the thoughts of many minds are now tending. The archbishop was speaking at York at the annual meeting of the York association for the care of young girls. He said:

Political economy represents society as a kind of commercial warfare with closed lists. Ever since the days of Adam Smith, however, we have been discovering that there are other factors in the combination, and that it is not a game with closed lists, but that there stands outside the wholesome game of competition, the reflected branches of our social system, the girls who cannot work, orphans that cannot do anything, and the persons, able bodied enough, who for a time are cast out because production has outstripped consumption and a great many manufacturers are obliged to be idle.

It will be seen from this that the archbishop has not yet "seen the cat," and, indeed, it is one of the most serious difficulties we have to deal with on this side—this appearance of production outstripping consumption. But from what follows the archbishop seems to be in a fair way of coming to see the cat. His grace proceeded.

There is growing up a state of facts grave, serious and tragical, threatening society itself unless it can be dealt with, which must be included in the survey which any political philosopher takes of the world, and that is the existence of a class who are in danger of being starved. What do the meetings in Trafalgar square and elsewhere mean? There must be something underlying all that. Our civilization is developing a large class of persons who from first to last are not sure of a meal or of the common needs of life. Our statesmen, because they know no remedy, take care to have as little to do with the matter as possible. Constant over production and over population will make that dangerous class larger. My own opinion is that in two generations there will be a state of matters dangerous in itself, dangerous to the whole social system, and eminently calling upon every one to exercise his wits and his thoughts to devise some remedy or a palliative. We may preach thrift to the laborer, and if the laborers of this country practiced it they would be richer by the millions spent in drink, but the danger is that we preach a partial remedy only. The question what we will do when capital is constantly accumulating, and accumulating in greater masses than ever in single hands, there are more thousands, more millions of whereas our laborers are growing poorer, and men growing up who have no property, and who are not sure that their labor can be brought into market at all—there is a problem which nobody yet has solved; which will be the agony and the struggle of the next generation and of generations after that.

Of course we who have read "Progress and Poverty" and are free from the prejudices to which one in the position of the archbishop of York must be subject, regard the problem as solved, and concern ourselves now only with showing the practical application of the remedy, but nevertheless it is a gratifying sign of the times when a man of Dr. Thomson's eminence thus boldly faces the problem.

Besides there are forces at work of a somewhat different character. Men are not only thinking out the problem, but the problem is working itself out. Take the Black country district, which is one of the oldest industrial districts in England. Only yesterday, the president of the South Staffordshire mining engineers

Professor Benton—gave an address at the annual meeting of that body on "The past, present and future of South Staffordshire in relation to British mining." He pointed out that the prosperity of this district had chiefly depended on its minerals—coal and ironstone. But, whereas, in seven years, ending 1880, the average output of coal and ironstone in the district had been eight per cent of the total output of the United Kingdom, during the last seven years the output was but five per cent. The average output of coal for each colliery in the kingdom during ten years ending 1887, was stated to be 27,982 tons, but the average output per colliery in South Staffordshire in the same period was 13,340 tons—or not quite half. The district now contributes 5½ per cent of the coal raised in the kingdom, but of ironstone the district contributes only 0.84 per cent, whereas thirty-five years ago it contributed 20 per cent. Our ironstone mining indeed had actually declined 94 per cent during the last thirty-five years. The average product of minerals per colliery in this district is now about 25,000 tons per annum, whereas the average annual produce for the United Kingdom was 50,000 tons.

As to the cause of all this the learned professor only darkly hinted at it. "The mining of the ironstone," he said, "depends on the price of iron, and the price of iron depended largely on the price of ironstone." The present price of ironstone might not greatly change, he observed, as long as the Cleveland and Bilbao yields remained; but when Bilbao was exhausted there would still be the colossal deposits of magnetic iron ore of Scandinavia and hematite of Burmah, which, with the advantage of very low royalty, rents, shallow depth and cheap labor, rendered it possible that those ores might find considerable use in this country. In any case, the cost of local ironstone mining—in which, no doubt, the professor includes high royalty rents—would preclude Staffordshire for many years, if not entirely, from that importance in the iron trade of this country it once had. But merely the day is not far distant when the men in this great district who have so much capital invested in its mines and mills will "see the cat," and make an effort to secure such a reduction in the cost of ironstone as well as coal mining—in other words, a reduction of royalty rents and such like taxes on industry as will enable the still enormous deposits of coal and ironstone to be worked with advantage to themselves and the country at large.

As things are, there is not, perhaps, on the civilized globe a more desolate place than the Black Country. Within the region known by that name women work like blacksmiths at a forge fifteen hours a day for five shillings. The same is true of lock pilers. Only yesterday a man came to me seeking my aid in obtaining a situation as porter to a public institution. The wages are twenty-five shillings a week. The man was married, was a painter by trade, and had hardly made a living for the past four years. Again I was in the humble dwelling of a loader, that is, a man who loads the coal trucks down the pit. The man had had but two days and a half work the previous week, and had brought home seven shillings and sixpence. His wages were three a day, but he never made a full week. Out of that seven shillings and sixpence one shilling went for assurance at the pit, two shillings and sixpence went for payments belonging to the previous week, and two shillings went for rent, leaving two shillings for the man and his wife to live on during the week. The wife told me they had not tasted butcher's meat for five weeks. That is the sort of thing that is common in the Black Country, and as a consequence it has a population so beaten down that they cannot be got to unite, even for the amelioration of their own condition. They are hopelessly divided, and of course entirely at the mercy of their employers. Some generous-hearted employers are to be found among the more strenuous advocates of union among the men, but it is all in vain. There are unions, of course; but in face of the almost savage competition among the men for the merest apology of a living, union in any real sense seems hopeless for the present.

The start toward better things must begin from the outside, and that this will not long be delayed is evident to any one who can read the signs of the times.

HAROLD RYLETT.

## SOMETHING TO DO.

## The Formation of a Letter-Writing Corps.

In reply to the proposal to organize a letter-writing corps made last week, enough names have been sent in to make the plan a moderate success, even if no more should come. There are more coming, however. It is not yet time to hear from many points covered by THE STANDARD's circulation, and friends of the movement have sent word from a number of places where last week's paper had been read, that among them the idea had already been taken up and commended, and would soon be acted upon. No criticism of the plan has been received, though suggestions have been made as to details. Thus, it is safely launched.

While this is true, it is also a fact that some of our old co-workers, to whom we are accustomed to look for assistance, have not yet been heard from. There are others who were consulted, or who were heard from before the project was made public, that have not yet responded. Does this signify that they are merely waiting to join when the corps gets down to work, or that they think the machine will be strong enough without them? If they are holding off from either cause, they are reminded that, as he who gives promptly gives twice, so he who joins the corps early contributes more largely to its success than he who joins late. If, single tax neighbor, you wish us good luck, the one and sure way to make your wish a reality is to come along with us now. It costs hardly any exertion and very little money. And, please remember, this exhortation is addressed to *you*.

Cheering letters have been received from people giving in their names. Mr. W. J. Atkinson of Philadelphia sends \$10 to the fund and prophesies effective results if the plan is pushed. Another correspondent sends his envelope, and says laconically: "Good scheme; count me in." And others, after writing encouragingly, promise to do anything they can to assist in carrying out the plan.

One of the writers asks if he can send to the members of the corps copies of a single tax publication in which he is interested. The central bureau will send them out for him, but it will send no other kind of publication, and the list of members will be shown to no one excepting those engaged in mailing the weekly circular.

A good suggestion made is that the single tax clubs throughout the country shall each select a local agent for the bureau, who shall receive the weekly circulars and distribute them to the members of the corps in the club, their names being recorded also at the central bureau. A New Yorker writes in a strain of delight in anticipation of what may be done by the corps if STANDARD readers can only be made see their opportunity—and he forwards the names of ten persons as a guarantee of a sound basis for his enthusiasm. Among the many good things he suggests is that a writer may write the same letter pretty often and that newspapers rather than individuals should be addressed. "Call your corps by a grand name," he says. Suggestions as to name are in order.

"This plan does not interfere in the slightest with any other now being promoted," says a lady. "We who stay at home may make our opinions felt through the medium of a letter."

It is to be regretted that the space of THE STANDARD this week does not permit extracts from the letters received. The following from Mr. Robert Baker of Albany, however, gives the spirit of most of them:

The plan outlined in the current issue of THE STANDARD is an admirable one, and if extensively carried on must be productive of enormous good to the cause we have so much at heart. The only objection that suggests itself to my mind, that will operate against its pretty general adoption, is that thirteen envelopes is a pretty bulky package, and as they can contain writing will presumably have to pay first class postage rates. To obviate that difficulty, so far as this city is concerned, we have determined to pool issues, by having all the envelopes sent by express in one package. All who so desire can have their envelopes sent to New York by leaving them either with M. W. Norwalk, 199 Central av., or Frank C. Stevens, 82 Hudson av., Albany, by whom they will be duly forwarded. The plan presents an opportunity for the "Nicodemus" to do effective work (under a nom de plume if necessary), the more so when it is known that each is one of a large, intelligent, aggressive army. ROBERT BAKER.

The letter writing corps proposes:

(1) That each member on enlisting shall

promise to write one single tax letter a week for a stated period, and shall send to a central bureau thirteen stamped envelopes addressed to himself, to be used in communicating with him from the bureau during the ensuing three months. At the end of that time he may continue his membership by sending thirteen more envelopes.

(2) That the work of the central bureau, to be done or paid for by volunteers, shall be the issuing of a weekly circular containing suggestions to the members as to what people it may be well to write to, and stating what expressions or other occasion have furnished ground for addressing them.

(3) That upon receiving the circular a member shall write to one of the persons named in it, selecting the one he deems he can most successfully appeal to. A United States senator, or the governor of a state, showing evidence of sympathy with, or a disposition to inquire into, our economic views, could be written to by all the members so disposed. A man of lesser political prominence might be addressed by members living in his locality. To a minister of religion, the people of his own faith could write with propriety. Newspaper editors could be taken in hand by everybody.

(4) That the doctrine of free land, in its moral or economic aspect, shall alone be the subject of the letters.

Address: J. W. SULLIVAN,  
Standard Office, New York.

## Interested on Long Island.

BAYSIDE, L. I.—Pursuant to a call by postal card only, fourteen men responded at the studio of Mr. Henry Stahmer in Flushing, L. I., the other evening, and proceeded to organize a single tax club. Mr. Daniel C. Beard of Flushing was elected chairman pro tem., and Mr. Theodore E. Lane of Bayside, L. I., temporary secretary. Constitution and by-laws were adopted. Mr. Antonio M. Molina delivered a lecture on "The Law of Rent," with blackboard illustrations.

T. E. LANE,  
Secretary pro tem.

## To Eulogize Jefferson.

PHILADELPHIA.—On Friday evening last the Henry George club of Philadelphia elected five new members. It was decided to celebrate the next anniversary of the birth of Thomas Jefferson, and word to that effect was sent Mr. Chauncy F. Black. The ballot reform bill has been reported favorably by the senate committee of Pennsylvania and is now in sub-committee in the house.

ISAAC FEINBERG.

## Where No One Gets Sleepy.

The single tax club of Poughkeepsie meets every Thursday evening at 8 p. m. in the hall at 226 Union street. Everybody is invited to attend, and the opportunity to speak or ask questions, pro or con, on the subjects relating to taxation and land tenure is extended to all. The meetings have been well attended, and the interest is kept up until a late hour. No one seems to get sleepy or to lose the thread of the discussions.

## The Chicago Club Reads and Sings.

Single tax club No. 1 of Chicago had an interesting and instructive evening at their room, No. 4 Grand Pacific hotel, on Saturday evening last, Mr. Frank Pearson and others reading single tax literature and singing appropriate songs. On next Tuesday evening the club has its annual election.

## Cheering News.

COLTON, Cal.—I think our legislature will pass the electoral reform bill this winter. It is astonishing how the people and the public press are coming over to our side. Most democrats in this section advocate straight free trade for the party in 1892.

E. G. PHILLIPS.

## The Single Tax Would Lower the Death Rate Still More.

BOSTON HERALD.  
The effect of overcrowded dwelling houses on the mortality of our large cities is shown in the comparative death rate of the municipalities where a wide difference exists in the proportion which the population bears to the number of houses occupied as dwellings. Thus in New York city there are sixteen people to a house. In Boston there are eight, while in Philadelphia, which has the best tenement house system of any city in the country, there are but five. Taking the death rates of these cities, we find that in New York about twenty-six persons to each thousand inhabitants died last year, in Boston twenty-four, and in Philadelphia only about twenty. These figures are instructive, as showing the workings of the tenement house systems which prevail in each of these cities.

## Praise for Cleveland From an Unexpected Source.

NEW YORK MAIL AND EXPRESS (republican), March 4.  
President Cleveland, during his administration, strictly adhered to the policy foreshadowed in his letter of acceptance, his letter on civil service reform, and his inaugural address. That his administration was carried on in the interests of the people, the vast majority are agreed. Here and there a disgruntled patrician comes to the front in its determination, but the people, to whom alone civil administration is responsible, are its hearty endorsers.

## Charity and Charity.

NEW YORK WEEKLY.  
Mrs. Goodheart—"Why don't you give that poor woman a dress?"

Mrs. Tiptop—"Mercy me! I can't afford to spare a cent. As it is, I don't see how we're ever going to pay for that \$300 dress I had to order for the charity ball!"

## SINGLE TAX IN NASHVILLE.

JUDGE FRANK T. REID'S ELOQUENT ADDRESS.

A Sermon on the Text, "The Poor Ye Have Always With You."

Judge Frank T. Reid of Tennessee has been delivering a series of Sunday evening discourses in Nashville which are creating a profound impression in that city. At one of his recent meetings, held at the Olympic theater, he took for his text the oft misquoted words of Jesus, "The poor ye have always with you, and declared the gospel of industrial emancipation in glowing words. We select, for the benefit of STANDARD readers, a few of the most striking passages of his address:

The kingdom of heaven is within you, and the only way you can ever enter heaven is for the kingdom of heaven to enter you.

No, God's kingdom has not come on earth. In our infatuated mad greed to develop our material or industrial resources, to seal heaven by building towers of Babel, we are impoverishing, nay destroying our moral, our spiritual resources, which makes us "poor indeed." What a race of Spartan heroes, much less Christian heroes, the women of this generation will bequeath to posterity. Sixty-eight per cent of the married and unmarried females of Great Britain engaged in industrial pursuits, and perhaps as large a percentage in this country, qualifying themselves for the discharge of the duties of maternity by standing ten hours a day behind counters or guiding the wheels of sewing machines which, while stitching your shirts and under-wear, are at the same time stitching their shrouds. The mothers of heroes—or street arabs and sans culottes—which? How can God's kingdom come on earth while this condition of things lasts? And how can it be changed as long as the cause which produces it is permitted to continue?

The kingdom come. Did not Jesus mean that you and I should do all in our power to bring about his kingdom on earth? There is not a more irreligious man, nor a worse citizen, than he who refuses to help in bettering things because, as he pretends to believe, God will mend them. That is why we are here. Why did Jesus teach us to pray that God's kingdom might come? A prayer that is not reinforced by our utmost effort to secure its realization is utterly futile and valueless and a confession of pusillanimity. The most efficacious prayer is a noble thought or deed. What does God care for our weak words? He does not want words. He wants heroic lives. "Take thou away from me the noise of the melody of thy violins. But let justice run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream."

When Jesus taught us to pray "Thy kingdom come on earth," he taught us by the same words that it is our duty to do our utmost to cause it to come. When it does come, when it is here in all its divine radiance, will the earth still be cursed with tenement houses and pauper establishments and charity soup houses? Tell me, O ye fat shepherds of the lean sheep! "The poor ye have with ye always." Thou blasphemer, thou atheist of atheists, clothed in the supposed livery of heaven the more effectively to serve the devil, do you preach from your velvet covered pulpit that poverty is a natural God ordained institution—that the stench which arises from the unspeakably foul tenement districts of New York and Chicago, from the "warrens of the poor," is a sweet smelling and pleasant odor in the nostrils of our Father in heaven? Then have we no Father there, but only a cruel step-father, an Almighty Fiend, who, though he may have the power to chain Prometheus to the rock for the hungry vulture to prey upon his ever renewed vitals, has yet no power to make Prometheus, or any good man, worship him. And so Prometheus, his creature, is greater than he.

But there are those of us who continue to persist in believing that He is our Father—the Father of all—as much the Father of the Nashville bootblack as the Father of the czar of Russia or the Pope of Rome; and though He slay us, yet will we believe it. Yes, our Father, as much as Christ's or yours; the Almighty Father of every homeless outcast, of every ragged, hungry child sold by its parents to mill-owners to be chained to iron machines to spin cotton and linen for you and yours, that you may array yourselves as Solomon never did in all his glory; or to be immured in coal mines to dig coal for you that your silk-stockinged feet may be warmed for you. The Father of yonder poor woman, with the threadbare shawl covering the staring-eyed baby that rests on her dry, bony breast, who jumps into the icy river to escape the bloodhounds of hell that your "Christian" civilization have put upon her track. Do you deny it, my lord bishop, my right reverends and wrong reverends of every order? That skeleton-limbed woman, is she, or is she not, a daughter of the awful Being who made "the seven stars and Orion, that turneth the shadow of death into the morning, and maketh the day dark with night?" What will you answer

in that dread day when the Son of Man shall come in his glory, with all his angels, and shall stand before you with this daughter of his Father, whose body and soul was murdered by slow torture, by an agony compared to which his agony of bloody sweat was as nothing; what will you answer, my lord bishop, O, most respectable phantasm, when the lightning from his eye shall pierce the marrow of your soul as the question is put to you. When I was hungry and naked and sick and in prison, why came ye not to feed and clothe and comfort me?

Poverty, a God-ordained institution; because Jesus said, "The poor ye have with you always." Poverty is the mother of ignorance, and ignorance is the mother of sin and crime, and sin and crime land people in hell, not in heaven. There is not such a tragedy under the sun as men and women dying ignorant by the wholesale, while capable of knowledge. And that, we are asked to believe, is pleasing to our Father in heaven!

Poverty God-ordained! Why then did Christ teach the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man?

There is not such an unspeakable blasphemer alive as he who, with all the inexhaustible stores supplied by the Creator for the support of all those whom he calls into life on this planet, giving two hands to work for each mouth, spread out before him, asserts, nevertheless, that poverty is a divinely appointed institution. It is our violation of the divine laws, not our conformity to them, that continues poverty in the midst of abundance. Violate the physical laws of the universe and disease inevitably sets in. Continue the violation of them and death is certain. Do you imagine that the rule holds good only in the material world? The overthrow and destruction of past civilizations should teach you otherwise. That is the highest and most practical statesmanship which holds that the effort of all political struggle should be to establish morality as the basis of all legislation. What is the matter with the world is, that we have allowed the devil to write the principal laws which now stand written in our statute books, and until we expunge them and write God's laws in their stead. His kingdom will not come on earth, no matter how much we pray, and fast, and sing psalms. In special we have allowed the devil to write one law in our statute books which is the explanation of the long continuance of his reign on earth, namely, that a comparatively few have the legal right to monopolize the granary, the storehouse of nature, in which is sacked up all the raw material supplied by the creator to support life, and to demand of the other tribute for access to the necessities of existence that were intended for the use and support of all. What wonder it is that we should have the most wide spread and degrading and crime producing poverty in the midst of the most abounding and inexhaustible wealth when the great body of people, by human law, are denied access to the source only from which wealth can be produced, are denied access to the bounties of the creator, unless they pay tribute to the "owners" of the planet! It has not been so very long since we abolished, at considerable cost, it is true, the devil's law that one man had the legal right to "own" as many of his fellow men as he could pay for, provided their skins were black or yellow. But what was the sense of abolishing that law while retaining its twin companion, the right to "own" the land, seeing that he who owns the lands owns those who are compelled to live upon it, or else not live at all?

Judge Reid went on to explain how the Mosaic law, by providing the jubilee year, averted speculation in land, and closed with an explanation of the single tax on land values, and the beneficent results that would accrue from its adoption.

### Felix Alba.

Down in Alabama they've got a white single tax cat. She looms up through a lot of printed matter that tells what the single tax means. The words are so arranged on a white card as to leave a space in the center that makes an admirable pussy, and in view of her recent surprising growth, parentheses and other types are called in to supply her with mustachios. Altogether she looks as if she knew it all.

**The Millionaires of the Senate.**  
Washington Letter to Pittsburg Press.

There is a great deal too much truth in the statement that our senate is becoming a rich man's club. It is the popular thing nowadays for a rich man, having achieved all the honors that the commercial world can give him, to seek to gratify his vanity by the practical purchase of a seat in the senate. There is no use mincing words, for this is very generally the case. When Zachariah Chandler came to the senate just before the war I have heard that he could not find another millionaire in the chamber. Only fourteen years ago there were but nine millionaires in the senate. There will be, counting Vice-president Morton, nineteen millionaires in the next senate, which number is a third of the total. I saw a man foot up to-day the fortunes of the members of the next senate. Of course no other earthly thing is as hard to find out as how rich a rich man is. He himself very seldom knows, and the human imagination is weak indeed when it contemplates a big aggregation of dollars. But on the basis of popular guess the figures of senatorial wealth that I saw to-day footed up \$139,000,000. Think of it! \$139,000,000 between nineteen men. A rich man's club, indeed!

### MR. PENTECOST ON MONOPOLIES.

#### Present Social Inequalities the Product of Bad Laws.

Hugh O. Pentecost made the fourth of his series of addresses on the social question on last Sunday morning at Masonic Temple before a large audience. We take pleasure in quoting from it as we have from the previous addresses:

. . . Conditions make the man. That is the legend on the sign board where the foot path of the new political economy branches off from the beaten highway of the old. At the first, in the savage or pre-historic state, the influences which mould men are what we call natural conditions; climate, temperature, topography; but in the civilized state artificial conditions—that is to say, conditions which man himself creates in constructing the social organism of which he forms a part—are far more influential upon him.

By these social conditions I mean the limitations and restraints—the tyrannies and oppressions, if you like—to which man is subjected by his stronger or wiser fellows, or to which, as is generally the case, he is stupid enough to submit. For man, as a rule, is like an ox; he may be easily trained to put his own neck patiently and willingly under the yoke, and to fight for his task master against him who would break his bonds and set him free.

These social conditions are all manifestly the products of statute or unwritten laws. Special providence, natural law, or personal qualities have no appreciable force in determining the position which men occupy in what we call the social organism. They are what they are by law; that is to say, government is an agency, an engine, an almost inexorable power, which has been constructed by shrewd, unscrupulous, designing, selfish persons, through many generations in conscious or unconscious concert, and by the consent and assistance of its hapless and misguided victims, for the elevation of a few to riches, power and refinement, by the degradation of the many. Its power lies in the willing submission of the people. The poor lie down in the mud that the rich may walk over them with unsoled feet and are thankful for the privilege; they draw the coach in which the indolent ride and feel honored by their degrading toil; they fall upon their hands and knees and build a stairway of themselves upon which babies, fools or knaves may ascend to the place of power; they kiss their feet as they tread upon them; they bow before them and fight for them to the last drop of their blood.

I do not speak of Turkey or Russia, or even of Germany, France or England; I speak of our own United States, in which we say we have political liberty, but where we have a government just as well calculated to enrich the rich and impoverish the poor as any other on earth. You do not believe that? You think I am saying something that is nearly treasonable? Let me see if I cannot show you how our government robs poor men and gives over to rich men what it steals. In the days of Robin Hood and Dick Turpin, the best of the highwaymen used to rob the rich and give part of the booty to the poor. Governments reverse the process. They rob the poor and give stolen goods to the rich.

How can any one who remembers what slavery was, fail to see how law enriches some and impoverishes others? Was not slavery sanctioned by the government? Was it not upheld and enforced by the government? . . . But what if I can show you that under the guise of freedom the blacks and millions of whites are still despoiled of their earnings by law and still kept in ignorance and degradation by law? One is the consequence of the other. If you make and keep people poor they are necessarily ignorant, and many of them will become vicious. Now, can I show you how this government impoverishes the poor by law, and enriches the rich by law? I think I can if you will be controlled by reason and not by prejudice.

I know what a sacred thing the protective tariff is to many persons in this congregation and I hesitate to say a word about it, because I do not like to be obliged to attack any one's religion. And the protective tariff amounts to a religion with many people. I think for about half the people in this country a custom house is quite as sacred as a church, and the customs tax collector is as sanctified a person as a parson. Now, when you criticise a religion, especially if it is a superstition—that is, if it is not true—you touch people in a tender place, tender because it is weak, and you have to be very careful what you say. I wish, therefore, to assure my protectionist friends that I am not going to try to prove that protection does not protect; I am not going to try to show that it is not the American gospel of salvation from the pauper made good things of Europe; I am willing to admit, if you like, that it is more patriotic to have our own paupers make what we use; I am not going to deny that all our prosperity comes through protection; I will admit, without more ado, that the prosperity of some of our people is due to the custom houses. All that I wish to show now is that whether our governmental policy of protection is right or wrong, wise or foolish, it operates against the poor consumer and in favor of the rich consumer. I do not now stop to deny that it is an equally proportioned benefit to the rich and poor producer. I only wish to show you that it falls more heavily, as a tax, upon the poor consumer than upon the rich consumer.

All indirect taxes must be laid upon the common necessities of life in order to yield much revenue, but the rich use very little more of eatables and wearables than the poor. Jay Gould wears not many more clothes than one of his clerks. Mrs. Astor uses no more sugar in her tea than a sewing woman. A tax upon necessities which falls upon the consumers with three or four added profits, does not amount to a flea bite to the rich, but to the poor it is one of the straws that help to break the camel's back. Just as the government used to enslave the black man and declares that it was for his benefit, so it now taxes the poor man and tells him that thereby he is enriched.

The government tells the poor man that he shall buy everything he uses in this dearest market, while the rich freely cross the water and fill their trunks with clothing bought in the cheapest markets and bring them home duty free. To be sure, as we are told, the poor have the same privilege. There is nothing to hinder the American laborer from taking his family across the ocean every summer and stocking up with every pauper made thing he needs for the coming year. That is to say, there is nothing to hinder him except that he cannot go. The government tells the poor man that he shall not have the benefit of foreign competition with American labor. The government tells the poor man that he shall be protected from the foreign hat or steel rail or glass bottle, but the hypocrisy of that pretence is apparent when it allows the foreign hat or steel rail or glass bottle maker to take away his opportunity to labor.

I repeat what I have said in this place before, that I have no interest in this question as a political issue. With me it is not a question of republicanism or democracy. I have lost faith in both the great political parties as parties, because I believe that either party will conduct the government for the benefit of the rich just as long as the people are stupid enough to let them. It is with me wholly a question of morals, wholly a question of what system of taxation tends least or most towards equal justice to rich and poor alike. It is with me not even a question of patriotism. I hope to love my native land, but I do not love it as much as I do the human race. Custom houses that help to strengthen us as against the rest of the world will ultimately injure us, and whatever tends to benefit the rest of the world will ultimately benefit us. That which is against the common good is immoral; that which is for the common good is moral.

. . . But for the discount discrimination in our revenue laws in favor of the rich, any poor man might get a board, a knife and a little paste, buy a few leaves of tobacco and make cigars in competition with the great factory. But this rich man's government has made that impossible; has decreed by law that the poor cigar maker shall always remain poor by driving him into the employment of the rich man in competition with the pauper labor of Europe—that is to say, on the rich man's terms; and the rich man's terms are the slave owner's terms, viz.: just enough to keep the laborer physically strong enough to do the work; but because there are so many more free men than there are opportunities to make cigars, it is a matter of small moment if nicotine poison on an empty stomach tumbles a few thousand of them into thoroughgoing American pauper graves—driven out of competition by law, starved and poisoned by law, and dumped into a hole in the ground by an officer of the law. What shall we write on his tombstone? Write: Slain by the government, through laws for which he himself was stupid enough to vote!

I venture to touch lightly upon another sacred subject . . . The private control of money is the evil of the national bank. It is not so much in the fact that it enables the bank people to collect interest from two sources on the same capital, as that it enables them to make money scarce or plenty, at will. Scarcity of money reduces prices for everything; plenty of money increases prices for everything. They who have the power of reducing and increasing prices at will can see-saw the market, and by buying when things are artificially cheap and selling when things are artificially dear, can enrich themselves by impoverishing others, and pose all the times as benefactors because they have a banking system which in some other respects is the best the country ever had.

But the protective tariff, the internal revenue taxes and the national banking system are as boys who read the flash newspapers and start for the wild west with toy pistols to become Indian hunters and highwaymen when compared with our land holding system. One must be something of a thinker, something of a financier, something of a genius at guessing riddles and solving puzzles to understand how the tariff and internal revenue tax and banking laws make people rich or poor, because the process is complicated. But as regards robbery by land holding, all is so plain and simple that he who runs may read. The entire machinery of the process is in open sight. The wonder is that the whole world has not seen it and been convulsed by the sight long ago. No sane person can fail to see how the law which permits an individual to own land in such a way that he can appropriate its value to himself, by that fact permits him to pocket other people's earnings. Knock out the monopoly of land and you knock down all monopoly. The amazing feature of it all is that it takes so long to make people see what is as plain as a pike staff.

Thus far I have been trying to show you the evil; henceforth I shall try to show you the remedy, and I go on with this work from week to week with beating heart and rising hope, for I tell you that over the eastern hills is now to be seen the pale pink blush of the dawning; the light of injustice and oppression is being pierced with shafts of light. Who knows but that you and I may live to see the shackles full from the bruised and bleeding limbs of our toiling brothers and sisters, and hear the peans of those who for the first time live in a world of peace, plenty and joy.



## NOTE-BOOK JOTTINGS.

A friend of mine went to Florida a month ago with the intention of living there some five or ten years. He writes me that he has bought ten acres close to the railway station and the "college" in a growing town, and that he will build a home after his own ideas on the best site in his tract, will send his only child, a boy of nine, to the college, and, with his wife to assist him in his plans, will convert his ten acres of hummock and pine into a little paradise of orange grove and orchard, park and rose garden. He says he visited half a dozen towns looking at real estate before purchasing his land, and that in each of them the real estate agents would not permit him to go to any expense in looking around, but that they waited on him at his hotel with a conveyance and drove out for half a day at a time with him and his wife and boy, showing them bargains in town lots and farms. My friend is an Englishman of some fortune, whose estate in England has been "put out to nurse," during the period he expects to remain in America.

I spent a Sunday lately in a town in the suburbs of New York. In the afternoon my host took me to the house of a friend, where we passed a pleasant hour with a party of men and women of the single tax faith. The gathering was informal, and the conversation ran on whatever subjects happened to come up relating to the reform on which all were in accord. The mere fact of meeting socially and chatting with one another had an effect but little short of that ensuing from a formal organization. Whenever systematic work is needed, that group, I venture to say, will be found ready to take their full share in it.

"Tell me what the workingmen of New York are thinking of. What do they want? What do they believe is the cause of their miseries? Which way are they drifting, or are they steering their craft in the direction of a port at which they have agreed they will find things better than where they are now? I am a dweller in a country far distant from the labor world." So ran the interrogatories of a man who met me a few evenings ago. He went on to say that he seldom heard the social question touched upon among his daily companions. They spoke of their own work, as preachers, lawyers, writers, and the like, and of politics, books, the theaters, music and the arts generally; and as to life's troubles, the ladies rehearsed in his presence their difficulties with servants and their trials with dressmakers, and the men talked of being deceived in the wine sold them and of the little jarring incidents connected with their unavoidable communication occasionally with uncivil car conductors, waiters, and the like. This gentleman, who is now living in the sweetly perfumed atmosphere of a wealthy and perhaps over refined circle, was once a very poor boy—and he has by no means forgotten it. He hates injustice, believes in democracy, and stoutly upholds republican principles. But he can understand how natural it would be for his children to grow up with the murmurs of the poor reaching their ears only with the faintness of a far away echo.

One evening, about two weeks ago, I heard the Hon. Chauncey Shafer deliver an address on Andrew Jackson and his times. It had been pretty well advertised, but less than a hundred persons were in his audience. It was a treat to see the rugged old man of eighty going into his subject with the vim of a man of forty, and to listen to him re-discussing the stirring public questions of half a century ago with patriotic earnestness. Those questions, for that matter, are live ones now to all who look at principle. Shall the United States be a nation? What shall be the basis of our currency? What shall be the system of our civil service? But it was in an analysis of the character of Andrew Jackson that the old patriarch chiefly interested us. How well he brought before us the conditions under which the fiery backwoodsman Jackson developed into a courageous and accomplished statesman. Yes, yes, all true. But if destiny had held on until to-day and sent young Andy Jackson into a big carpet factory as a wheel greaser! Unionist, Agitator, Striker, Blacklisted man, Tramp.

The aged father of one of my friends has just died in a Virginia town, and the

local papers containing the old gentleman's obituary notice and an account of his funeral have been sent me. The little place lies in a quiet farming valley, where differences in rank are not very great and the old spirit of American citizenship has yet a strong hold on the people. In the course of his long life, this man, who to the day of his death carried on a local business, had held almost every honorable public position within the gift of his fellow townsmen. In the church he was always a warden or Sunday school superintendent, or the occupant of some similar place, and in several of those lodges or societies that do so much good work in small communities he was an active member. He was, in short, a village Hampden. When his death was announced, special meetings were held of the town council, of church congregations, and of various other organizations, and eulogies pronounced and resolutions passed. His funeral services took place in the largest church in the town, the one he had attended being too small for the concourse of people who went to it, the number being estimated at two thousand. During the funeral the stores of the town were closed, and some of the public buildings were draped in crape. Rich and poor, white and colored, men, women and children, walked in the procession, and while all mourned the public loss even the humblest was not insensible of the fact that to himself in such a community could be accorded the meed of appreciation at the close of his life, were it useful and honorable. Erect a big factory or open a coal mine in that locality, and mark the change.

Here is what a single tax man tells me about the domination of an animal over him: "If the single tax cat ever exerts the power over large bodies that it does over this single individual, the triumph of our principles will soon thereafter be complete. I have seen the cat, that is certain; and, alas! what is more certain and of more importance, is that the cat has seen me and I cannot escape her lynx eye. I don't want to become an agitator, but, as the cat so wills it, I must. Indeed, my inclinations and profit are alike opposed to agitation. I most wish to study and reflect, but I can't have my own way about it. I have often thought that the position and life of one spurred on by social injustice to enlighten his fellows would be the life I would least desire to lead. Since reading 'Progress and Poverty' I have been, despite my wishes, talking my views like a missionary. Some time ago I made a quiet resolve that I would down the cat for a little while, since its fellowship had not been profitable. As I was about to engage in an occupation depending on booming land values, I thought it was highly necessary that the cat should sleep. I had scarcely settled in the region of the boom when, to my horror and indignation, the cat woke up and scratched the skin of a protectionist at my hotel, and I was at once in arms against ten or more Blaineites, fighting for my dear cat, putting her on top and keeping her there. So now I will let her do with me as she will. It is strange, when you once think of it, how little you are under your own control. I make up my mind, for instance, that after supper I will go to my room and read and enjoy myself. After supper, however, the cat finds a chair for me in the hotel parlor, and I sit down and wait developments. I wait for the cat to find some multitaser to scratch, and then we go it."

GRIFFE.

## The Place to Build Manufactories.

Morristown, Tenn., Democrat.

The Board of mayor and aldermen of the city of Morristown has passed an ordinance excepting from municipal taxation for ten years the grounds, buildings, machinery, materials and capital of such persons, firms or companies as may engage in manufacturing enterprises in Morristown, provided such establishments give employment to fifteen or more persons; and the County court of Hamblen county has made a similar order, so that hereafter all such manufacturing enterprises will be free from all taxation in Morristown save the merely nominal tax for State purposes, which will not exceed one fifth of one per cent.

## A Pretty Square Deal.

Northwest Trade.

"This world is pretty evenly divided, after all," said the butcher as he scraped away at his block.

"How?"

"Lady in diamonds and sealskin gets out of her carriage and comes in here and inquires for 'sassage,'"

"Well?"

"Well, other folks have the money and us butchers have the eddication. Makes me feel more content."

## WHAT THE NEWSPAPERS SAY.

The idea of the single land tax is founded on the golden rule, and therefore is sometimes called the "new Christianity." It is in fact the old Christianity revived.—[Grand Rapids, Mich., Workman.]

Of course personal property, in whatever shape it may be presented, ought not to be taxed. It is the fruit of human labor. Human labor, industry and thrift should be encouraged rather than fined. To tax it is to fine it. All such taxes are relics of barbarism and are preserved only by present ignorance.—Washington Capital.

It is probable that if the proposition to so amend the constitution as not to make the taxation of all property obligatory and equal had not come from the single tax league it would receive much more favorable consideration.—Minneapolis Journal.

The Torrens system of real estate transfers, which is being agitated nowadays, is about on a par with the single tax system. Both are the production of cranks.—Appleton, Minn., Press.

Confiscation is the feature of the so called single tax that ought to be dwelt upon by every man who opposes it, and Dr. Fowell should have the credit of turning public attention strongly toward it.—Plainview, Minn., News.

Thousands of acres of land are held by railroads and speculators from which the public is excluded. It is held for a rise in market value. Meantime the taxes are only nominal. But the moment an energetic man purchases it and commences improving it, that moment he is fined proportionally to the improvements he puts upon it, for his enterprise.—Colfax, Iowa, Banner.

The price of wheat is very low. The farmers in the northwest, it is said, find it very difficult to keep out of debt! We can live without sugar, but not without wheat. Why not a bounty to the wheat growers of Minnesota, Iowa and Dakota as well as to the sugar growers of Louisiana.—[Christian Union.]

The history of the causes of the downfall of Greece and Rome will do for samples of our impending fate if we do not return to the paths of natural justice. Where is the remedy? Under our present laws and usages the remedy can be found alone in the single tax.—[Boulder, Col., Sentinel.]

As long as the products of labor are taxed the laborer will pay the greater portion of taxation, though indirectly and unknowingly, and the monopolizer, trusts, combines and those interested in them, will continue to rob him of his just dues.—[East Oregonian.]

The feeling that a change in present conditions is soon to take place is universal.—[Kansas Commonwealth.]

The discussion of the "Single Tax" is constantly widening and receiving thoughtful consideration by men of all parties. Protective-tariff men will find themselves compelled to discard the well worn chestnuts which have served them so well and so long, and seek for something better with which to combat the sharp thrusts of their antagonists.—[Richmond County, N. Y., Advance.]

## SINGLE TAX MEN.

The following list contains the names and addresses of men active in the single tax cause in their respective localities, with whom those wishing to join in the movement may communicate:

Akron, O.—Jas. B. Angier, 109 Allyn street.

Albany, N. Y.—Robert Baker, 178 Madison avenue; J. C. Roslert, 22 Third avenue, or James J. Mahoney, secretary Single Tax Cleveland and Thurman club, 25 Myrtle avenue.

Alhambra, Mont.—Mr. Josephine Spahr.

Altoona, Pa.—Joseph Sharp, Jr., secretary Single tax club, 411 Tenth street; Albert C. Rouzee, 921 First avenue.

Amsterdam, N. Y.—Harvey Book.

Anacostia, D. C.—Carroll W. Smith, office Anacostia tea company, Harrison and Monroe streets.

Atlanta, Ga.—James B. Bassett.

Atmosphere, N. M.—Lewis T. Granstrom.

Ashland, Ohio.—A. S. Strong.

Atlanta, Ga.—John C. Reed, lawyer, 25 1-2 Marietta street.

Auburn, Me.—H. G. Casey, secretary Single tax club.

Augusta, Ga.—L. Schmidt, 52 Lincoln street.

Axon, N. Y.—Homer Sabine.

Baltimore, Md.—John W. Jones, sec Single tax league of Maryland, 125 N Bond street; John Salmon, Pres Henry George club, 415 N Eutaw street; Dr. Wm. N. Hill, 1438 E Baltimore street.

Bayside, Long Island, N. Y.—Antonio M. Molina.

Braceville, Ill.—William Matthews, secretary Tariff reform club, 26 Newell place.

Broadfoot, Pa.—J. C. De Forest, secretary Land and labor club.

Bristol, Dak.—W. E. Brooks.

Binghamton, N. Y.—E. W. Dunton, 33 Maiden lane.

Boston, Mass.—Edwin M. White, 28 Main street, Charles ton; J. R. Roche, 29 Converse avenue, Mullen; Hamilton Garland, chairman Single tax league, Jamaica Plain.

Brooklyn, N. Y.—George E. West, M. D., 49 Clermont avenue, president Single tax club.

Burlington, Iowa—James Love, bookseller, or Richard Spencer.

Cambridgeport, Mass.—Wm. A. Ford, 166 Norfolk street.

Canisteo, N. Y.—W. Johnson, P. O. box 265.

Canton, Col.—Frank P. Blake, M. D.

Canton, O.—S. H. Harmont, M. D., president single tax club.

Cape May City—Wm. Porter, box 57.

Chamberlain, Dak.—James Brown.

Charles City, Iowa—Irving W. Smith, M. D., office opposite Union house.

Chicago, Ill.—Frank Pearson, secretary Single tax club No 1, 45 La Salle street.

Cincinnati, O.—Dr. David De Beck, 139 West Ninth street; Joes's news and stationery store, 272 Vine street; headquarters Single tax club, 295 Vine street.

Clinton, Ala.—O. M. Mastin or Alex G. Duke.

Cleveland, O.—C. W. Whinmarsh, 4 Euclid avenue; Frank L. Carter, 132 Chestnut street.

Clinton, Ind.—L. O. Bishop, editor Argus.

Cohoes, N. Y.—J. S. Crane.

Cotton, Cal.—Charles F. Smith, proprietor Commercial Hotel.

Covington, O.—Edward Hyndman, 348 1/2 South High street.

Cornwall, Cal.—Jeff A. Bailey.

Cramer Hill, Camden, N. J.—Chas. P. Johnston.

Danbury, Conn.—Sam A. Main, 31 Smith street.

Dayton, O.—W. W. Kile, 33 E. Fifth street; J. G. Galloway, 33 Samuel street.

Denver, Colo.—H. Monroe.

Detroit, Mich.—J. K. Finehart, 45 Waterloo street; J. F. Duncan, 279 Third street, secretary Tax reform as sociation; S. G. Howe, 651 14th av.

Diamond Springs, Eldorado county, Cal.—J. V. Lanston.

Dundalk, Md.—T. C. Ross.

Dunkirk, N. Y.—French Lake.

East Cambridge, Mass.—J. F. Harrington, St. John's Literary Institute.

East Northport, Long Island, N. Y.—J. K. Rudyard.

East Ridge, N. H.—Edward Jewett.

Elizabeth, N. J.—Benjamin Urner.

Elmira, N. Y.—William Bergman, 712 East Market street.

Englewood, N. J.—W. B. Steers.

Evanston, Ind.—Charles G. Bennett, 427 Upper Third street.

Fitchburg, Mass.—R. D. Terry.

Farmington, Iowa—F. W. Rockwell.

Gardiner, Ill.—T. S. Cumming.

Glen Cove, Long Island, N. Y.—Herbert Loromer.

Glendale, Mont.—A. H. Sawyer.

Glen Falls, N. Y.—John C. Quinlan.

Gloversville, N. Y.—W. G. Good, M. D.

Granville, N. Y.—Thomas Hudson, N. Y.—Henry L. Clinton.

Hartington, Neb.—J. H. Feijer.

Haverhill, Mass.—Arthur F. Brock.

Helena, Mont.—Judge J. M. Clements.

Hornellsville, N. Y.—George H. Van Winkle.

Hot Springs, Ark.—W. Albert Chapman.

Hosie Falls, N. Y.—F. S. Hammont.

Houston, Tex.—H. Ring, corporation attorney.

Hutchinson, Kas.—J. G. Malone, M. D.

Iion, N. Y.—George Smith, P. O. box 502.

Indianapolis, Ind.—Herman Kuehn, 14 Talbot block; or L. P. Custer, member of Single tax club.

Ithaca, N. Y.—C. C. Platt, druggist, 75 East State street.

Janvier, N. J.—S. B. Walsh.

Jersey City, N. J.—Joseph Dana Miller, secretary Hudson county Single tax league, 86 Erie avenue.

Kansas City, Mo.—Chas. E. Reid, 2,23 Woodland avenue.

Keokuk, Iowa—M. M. McDonald.

Kingston, Tex.—H. Ring, corporation attorney.

## IN THE STEERAGE.

## THE HORRORS THAT BESET THE IMMIGRANT AT SEA.

**The Way Some Things are Done on a Crack Atlantic Liner—Human Beings Treated Like Cattle—Men, Women and Children Crowded Together Between Decks—Distressing Food and Revolting Manner of Serving It—Young Girls Flung Around Like Baggage—The Ordeals of the Custom House and Castle Garden—Facts from One Who Has Made the Passage.**

"Pigs, sir, pigs, nothing better than pigs," said a rough looking but withal a good natured fellow whom I had discovered hanging about the doorway of an emigrant house in Liverpool, in reply to some inquiries of mine as to the treatment of steerage passengers on board the Atlantic liners. He assisted in looking after emigrants' luggage and lived in a sort of from hand to mouth fashion. A sixpence made his eyes sparkle, and so did a proffered pint of "stout and bitters."

"Yes, sir," he said, "I have been at this job this twenty years and I know all about it. They're better now than I mind them, but it's awful yet. Pigs could not be treated worse."

I inwardly groaned, steerage passenger that I was, with all my little baggage displaying flaming red labels announcing the fact in unmistakable white letters. And then the words of a friend I had parted with: "It won't signify, old boy. It's only a week, and a little roughing of it won't kill you," came back to me, but I plucked up courage and grasped my outfit, which I had purchased on the spot for a trifle, and started with the crowd after the baggage cart, through the streets of Liverpool. This outfit was a little straw mattress and a tin saucepan and plate.

It was an early hour and the Liverpudlians were either rubbing the sleep out of their eyes or the past day's dust off the windows of their shops, and so I consoled myself with the belief that I was unobserved and in any case unknown, as I made my way to the docks with a great crowd of steerage people to catch the tender for the steamship Servia, on board which we were bound to be by 10 o'clock. This was the beginning of the humiliating distinctions which weighed us down for eight days afterwards and made many of us earnestly wish we had never started for a voyage across the Atlantic.

After almost an hour's walk we reached the dock. The cart drawn up, a little black-bearded steamship man mounted upon it, and as he yelled out our names tumbled us down our boxes and trunks and divers sorts of bundles. It was now a case of every man for himself, every woman for herself and God look after the children and the helpless ones. Each dragged and tugged at his own baggage, shouted and maybe cursed like everybody around him, children screamed, steam whistles blew, quay loafers laughed. All struggled, elbowed, crushed and did everything and nothing. My brain reeled and eventually I found myself—I know not how I came there—on board the tender. The driving had begun, and driven we were without respect to age or sex, from the moment we set out for the ship till we had left the old land three thousand miles behind us.

I looked around me as soon as I was able to breathe freely, and what a motley crowd was there brought together! They were of nearly every nation of Europe. Old men and old women, young men and their wives and children, young men who had not yet ventured on the struggles of matrimonial existence, and young girls with the world all before them! Some were returning to the land of their adoption, others were leaving the old country for the first time. And what a miserable looking party we were, shivering in the cold winds that were sweeping up the Mersey.

Our cockle-shell tender reached the majestic, Leviathan-like ship after a run of about twenty minutes. Up the gangway we struggled, hauling with us as best we could our goods and chattels. But there was really no hurry. Oh, dear, no—the mails, and, more important still, the saloon passengers, had yet to come, and for them we must wait till far in the afternoon. Oh, mighty is the man with a few dollars more than his neighbor!

As soon as we set foot on deck we were greeted with the hoarse cry, "This way to steerage!" and we dragged along our beds and bedding and tins and boxes, and disappeared and became huddled to-

gether beneath the quarter deck. Then again was there shouting and confusion, stewards and assistant stewards yelling from the depths of the ship, whether we were endeavoring to descend, and sailors swearing at steerage passengers in general, because through no fault of ours we happened to block their way forward. The descent was slow and difficult, particularly for the women and children. The means were narrow ladders, with handrails too thick to grasp, set up in the perpendicular style of a fire-escape at the window of a New York flat. We did, however, manage to get down. I was simply horror stricken at the prospect of spending eight days in such a den as we then beheld, and I know the most poverty afflicted wretches in the company wished with all their hearts to return to the misery of the homes from which they had fled in despair. Cold and cheerless, it made me shrink and shiver.

The obscurely lighted space at the foot of the ladders was the dreary looking dining room of the unfortunate, two planks being joined together as the table, and a narrow board on trestles that never would stand straight, formed seats for the crowd. On either side were rows of stalls, something after the horse box style, which were fitted up as sleeping places for single men and married men who happened to be so fortunate as not to have brought their wives with them. One stall, however, was set apart for women who had not yet entered on matrimonial bliss, and those who had either left their husbands at home or were on their way to join them in America. Another was used by the steward for the sale of liquor. It was the saloon or public house of the steerage, but a card on the door made it known that nothing stronger than beer might pass out to the passenger. In the rear was a water tight compartment in which married couples took their meals, on the left of it their sleeping place, and on the right another assigned to unmarried women. In the married people's quarters the beds of the couples were separated by boards four or five inches high.

As soon as we got our straw beds placed there was a general order to go on deck. There we crowded together again in pig style, and after a long wait in the cold, which should have been made unnecessary, our tickets and papers were examined and we were at liberty to go below. Shortly afterwards the dinner bell was rung, and we rushed for our tins. Then there was a scramble for almost uneatable potatoes and not very inviting scalding hot pea soup, while chunks of coarse beef, the coarsest I have ever attempted to eat, were distributed in a style which recalled feeding hour scenes in the menageries.

That first dinner was something to be remembered. The scene was sufficient to turn the strongest stomach. I hope I shall never see the like again. The recollection of it makes me sea sick now.

After the feeding the steward roughly ordered all to wash their tins, directing them to a large tub of boiling water on deck for the purpose. Into this every man, woman and child plunged a tin, which was then supposed to be clean, and there was no such thing as a cloth to wipe them.

We had not long now to wait for the mails and the saloon passengers, and those who remained on deck had many things to interest them. Between three and four o'clock, or thereabouts, the ship was ready to go.

The haze of evening was soon upon us and before we had headed down St. George's channel had deepened into night. For hours the lights on the Welsh coast were to be seen through the gloom, but we did not stay on watch long, the bell summoning us below for supper, where the scenes and incidents at dinner were re-enacted. There was a rush for buns and butter of the regulation boarding house strength. Scalding tea was ladled into our tin porringers. As soon as mine became cold enough to take by the handle, I tested the contents and found a very small quantity quite enough for me. My supply of tea during the voyage helped to fill the slop bucket. An hour or so after tea, gruel, very thin gruel, was served to the women, very few of them caring to accept it.

At nine o'clock we sought our bunks. In we went to our hard beds, in which we had scarcely room to turn. Uncomfortable as I was, with my clothes and boots on, I dropped asleep from fatigue. Long before sunrise, and with darkness still on the waters, I was again

on deck, but being unable to see many yards from the ship I decided on giving the bunk another trial. There was, however, no further sleep for me, and so I turned about for an hour or so or listened to strange noises which fell upon my ears, unmistakable evidences that some of my neighbors were down in the grip of *mal de mer*. The atmosphere of the place was not of the pleasantest character, and a feeling of oppression began to come over me gradually, but I made once more for the fresh breezes.

There was then light. The dark shadows were rolling away ahead of us, and behind us the sun was rising from the sea and shooting golden shafts upward into the gray of dawn. To the right of us, apparently within the range of a rifle shot, lay the coast of Ireland, the sight of which brought up many recollections, some sweet, some sad, of scenes in that unhappy land. The breakfast bell called me from my reverie, and I hastened below to obtain a little assistance for the inner man. The morning meal I found no change for the better. The coffee was fit only to follow the tea to the slop bucket. At this meal a mess called Irish stew was ladled around. What its component parts were I do not know. Meat had probably been used, but no particles could be discovered by the most patient searchers. Some whole potatoes might be seen, but the majority of the hungry ones found only hot water, thickened by potato crumbs. And with this so-called Irish stew was the best thing supplied on the voyage. It was served every second morning; a very bad oatmeal porridge alternating with it. But there was a good supply of bread.

By the time we had finished our first breakfast and dipped our tins in the hot water tub, we were making straight for Queenstown harbor. After breakfast all of us were obliged to go on deck and to remain there till the place below had been swept up. Throughout the voyage this was the rule, which was rigidly adhered to, and women and children were forced to observe it, no matter how bitterly cold the morning or how the water swept over the quarterdeck. Women actually prostrated escaped the ordeal, but with difficulty. It took a firm nerve to withstand the abuse the stewards poured on the heads of the luckless women who happened to be sick.

About 10 o'clock we entered Queenstown harbor. Its waters were flashing in the morning light and many an admiring eye was turned towards the fair hills of Cork rolling away upwards from the shore and bathed in almost summer sunshine. While we were coming to anchor there was an order for all to go below and as soon as we reached the bottom of the ladders a second order to ascend again, foreigners by one ladder and Britishers and Americans, or English speaking people, by the other. This was that we might surrender our papers to officers stationed at the head of each ladder. What a crush there was then on these ladders and to what torture poor helpless women with children in their arms and others clinging to them were subjected! Many of them had to stand on the ladders for fully an hour in momentary danger of being thrown backwards and killed with their little ones. And yet all this might have been easily avoided. But who cares about the ills of steerage passengers?

At three o'clock we put to sea. An hour or two and the Irish channel was a mere deepening of the haze. We looked no more towards the land we had left. Our eyes followed the sun over the ocean, and we built up fancies of the world before us. Darkness fell at length upon the sea, and we sought our bunks. The morning came, but few rose till forced to do so. There was no scrambling at breakfast; there was no crowding on the deck, and if one wished to speak with an acquaintance some out of the way nook was the place to find him. A storm had come on with the night, and the big ship rolled and strained, and also, with few exceptions, did all the passengers. *Mal de mer* was master of the situation.

From all quarters came sounds of distress. Some poor women indeed continued sadly ill until the ship steamed into New York harbor, and very scant consideration was accorded them by the stewards. As for the stewardess, she never troubled herself about the female passengers, and was not to be seen in the steerage except on two occasions each day, and then only for a very few minutes, when she brought hot milk for infants. She did not utter a word during her flying visit except "Want any warm milk?" and this

she said as rapidly as she could, darting through the place as if it were a plague spot. The women of the steerage were apparently, in her eyes, mere brutish things not to be spoken to, wanting in all human feelings and not requiring any attention or care. One old, delicate woman was unable to take food for six days, and when at last, very much exhausted, she fancied a little arrowroot, she was able to get it but once, and then only after a great deal of petitioning by those who sympathized with her. The stewardess was sent for, but she came in high dudgeon. She promised the woman a little food that had been ordered by the doctor, but not for several hours did she bring it. It was only a half-eaten leg of a chicken, and without deigning to speak she threw it into the old woman's bunk in much the same style as she would to a dog. This was all the nourishment the sick woman got till she left the ship, and all she saw of the stewardess.

The fate of the sick ones was to be laughed at or sworn at. The foreign women and girls were particularly objects of insult, and many times I thought it was surely a blessing for these poor people that they either did not understand English or had only an imperfect knowledge of it. A Jewish girl who became dreadfully sick in the night time was actually dragged out of her bunk, which happened to be an upper one, by two of the stewards, who pitched her headlong into a lower one. For the men there was absolutely no mercy, and that is all that need be said so far as they are concerned.

A day or two from port the vaccination nuisance came up, and old and young had to submit to the ordeal of inspection and inoculation if necessary, although for the payment of some \$15 more to the steamship companies, the purchase of a cabin passage, people are free to land whether or not the vaccine has found its way to their blood.

The steerage of the Servia is considered model, so, one will naturally ask, what must be the condition of the unfortunate on the steamers of inferior lines? And what must it be on this when 300 or 400 or a still greater number are aboard?

At last New York! But when the ship entered her dock the hardships of the steerage passengers did not end. A prolonged stay in the company's shed, while all the luggage was being examined by a solitary custom house officer, was the next infliction. This ended after a couple of hours, and then, half famished, they got on board the tender and were taken round to Castle garden. Here, to their great surprise, on the free soil of America, they were still driven about in pig style. Some because they were not considered wealthy enough were detained according to law and, powerless in its clutches, ranked as paupers. Castle garden is no doubt an excellent institution in many ways and should be looked upon as a blessing by unprotected immigrants, especially females. As a trap for European tramps and clogs upon society it serves a useful purpose, but surely it was never intended by any law that young, able bodied men and women, married or single, willing and able to seek a livelihood anywhere all over broad America, should be branded with pauperism and forced back to a land in which poverty waited upon them. Are people such as these to have no chance in the race of life in God's world? Have sixty millions of people packed the United States so that there is not room for another? Will those already installed in this free land close the gates against all other comers? Are there no broad acres yet to be cultivated between the Atlantic and Pacific?

One other thing about Castle garden and I have done. The hospital in which detained emigrants are housed is not kept clean, and food is given them with a niggard hand. The hospital rooms are apparently clean, they seem to have been carefully swept and all that, but this is all on the surface. The filth is only discovered by those forced to lodge there. The bed sheets look as if they are never changed from year's end to year's end. They are, to put it plainly, very dirty and all over the clothes vermin crawl with sickening impurity. I pity, indeed, with all my heart, the man or woman obliged to spend even a night there after the misery experienced in the steamship steerage.

O'CONNER LAUGHLIN.

**The Ball That Single Tax Men Started Rolling.**  
Clinton, Ind., Argus.  
Twenty-six state legislatures are considering and acting upon the Australian secret ballot system.

## THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

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### RETURNING OLD TAXES.

Just before the close of his term ex-President Cleveland vetoed a most important bill. It was nothing less than a measure to refund to the tax payers of a former generation certain taxes they had paid, the sums necessary for the purpose of refunding being appropriated from taxes collected of the present generation. If the principle of this measure could be fully carried out it would have the effect of doing away with taxation in favor of a system of generation loans; for though each generation would be taxed, the taxes it paid would be returned by the next.

Early in the war congress laid a direct tax of \$20,000,000, apportioning it among the states according to population. Two ways were provided for collecting this tax. In general the internal revenue department was required to collect it directly from individuals as a tax upon their real estate; but the states were allowed to collect their respective apportionments from the citizens and pay to the general government, less fifteen per cent discount; the discount being the estimated cost of collection which the general government would save whenever a state paid its apportionment instead of leaving the government to collect from its people. This law applied of course to all the states, those in rebellion as well as those that were not. Of course, also, the states in rebellion did not pay their apportionment as states; nor did their citizens pay as individuals, except when the communities in which they lived were subjugated by the federal arms. But in the loyal states, as they were then called, nearly the whole apportionment was collected and paid over to the government by state agencies, the fifteen per cent discount being allowed for collecting. The entire amount collected was about \$17,000,000, including what was collected by national as well as by state machinery, and including also about \$2,000,000 in allowances to states on the fifteen per cent basis. It was this tax that congress undertook to return by the "direct tax bill" which Mr. Cleveland has vetoed.

One of the pretenses for the passage of the bill was the fact that the southern states had not paid their proportion of the tax, from which it was argued that the states that had should be reimbursed. But, as Mr. Cleveland says in his veto message, that the southern states did not pay their proportion is no more true of this than of many other taxes imposed during the war and from which much larger sums were realized.

The real motive of the bill was opposition to direct taxation. It offered an opportunity to at once disown direct taxation by practically repealing a direct tax law, and to encourage indirect taxation by making partial use of a surplus which indirect taxation had created. It was a manifestation of the protection spirit which has taken possession of the republican party, and which often aims, as in this instance, to divert attention from its true character by stirring up war prejudices.

**Mr. Cleveland's objections to the bill**

were twofold: First, that it was unconstitutional, and, second, that it would be an unwholesome exercise of the taxing power to restore taxes that had been lawfully collected. In support of the constitutional objection he argued, that as the direct tax was constitutionally laid and rightfully collected, the appropriation to repay it could not be justified as the payment of a debt of the United States; and, so far from being a disbursement in relation to public defense or for the general welfare (the only other constitutional grounds of expenditure), that it proposed a repayment of money long ago raised and expended for the common defense and general welfare. In other words it offered a mere gratuity. ". . . it was proposed," he says, "to raise by assessment upon the people the sum necessary to refund the money collected upon this direct tax, I am sure many who are now silent would insist upon the limitations of the constitution in opposition to such a scheme." This is undoubtedly true, and that these many should be silent when an indirect assessment for that purpose is proposed, or more accurately, when assessments already raised indirectly are to be applied to that purpose, is a solemn warning of the distorting effect which indirect taxation has upon the public conscience.

In vetoing this bill Mr. Cleveland has again proved his apprehension of true principles of taxation, and rendered a public service which the amount involved is far too small to measure. When the fiscal issues the American people are beginning to consider come to be settled, this veto will be appreciated as an act of wise statesmanship, and an evidence of reaction against our long cherished system of indirect taxation.

Mr. Cleveland's veto of the "direct tax bill" recalls a fact in our history which might be considered with advantage by those who hold that the single tax on land values could not be constitutionally imposed for the purpose of raising federal revenues. The basis of this objection is that by the constitution no direct tax can be imposed by congress except in proportion to population. But here we have an act of congress, and it is not the only one like it, which was enforced to the extent of collecting over \$17,000,000 from the different states, according to an apportionment based on population, and which has been declared to have been constitutional, not alone by the congress that passed and the president who signed it, but also in a state paper of a subsequent president, who calmly considered the question nearly thirty years after the enactment: an act, too, and this is its important feature, which did not stop with fixing the amount of the tax and apportioning it among the states, but went on to designate the kind of property upon which it should be levied. True, it permitted the states to raise their respective quotas in their own way, but such a concession could not give vitality to the law. The inference is plain, either that congress is empowered to raise revenues by apportioning the amount to be raised according to population, and requiring it to be levied on land values, or the direct tax law of 1861 was unconstitutional.

It is urged, however, that a direct tax apportioned according to population is objectionable because it compels states of large population but small wealth to pay higher taxes in proportion to their wealth than states of small population and large wealth. With a mere real estate or personal property tax this might be true; but with the single tax on land values it could not be. Indeed, a tax levied exclusively on land values and apportioned according to population would fix the sum each state would have to pay more nearly in proportion to its wealth than any other form of tax, direct or indirect, which the federal government could impose; for it is the rule that where population is densest, land values are highest.

When Mr. Cleveland's message reached the senate the bill was promptly passed over the veto by a vote of fifteen to eight.

As but two republican senators, Edmunds and Blair, were for sustaining the veto, this action of the senate indicates what will probably be done with the measure next year, with senate, house and president, all republican. Senator Sherman's remark, in debating the veto, that the president's constitutional objection was hardly worth a reply, because if congress had power to lay the tax in the first place it had power to refund, was itself hardly worth making. That congress has power to refund a tax unlawfully laid is not disputed; the constitutional authority to pay debts would justify that without going further. But when a tax has been lawfully laid, lawfully collected, and lawfully expended, to say that congress has power to refund it is to say that congress has the right to use the taxing power of the country for private purposes. For these expended taxes can be refunded only out of revenues derived from further taxation, and the refunding is just what Mr. Cleveland called it, "a bald gratuity." This doctrine of public taxation for private use is, however, no new doctrine to that element of the republican party of which Senator Sherman is a leader. It is the core of the protective system.

The New York Times, in recommending that the upper part of the city be laid out more conveniently than the part below Fifty-ninth street, remarks that if this part had "been laid out with reference to facility of movement and picturesqueness of effect, and provided with abundant public grounds, it would to-day be far more attractive and healthful, while the value of private property for residence and business purposes would be much greater than it is." The Times does not mean here that dwelling houses and business houses would be more valuable. No doubt they would be, but their great value would be due to their being better buildings, and not to the greater convenience and picturesqueness of the location. What the Times refers to is the undoubted fact that sites for dwellings and business purposes would be more valuable. But why should any one, except the owners of the location, be sorry for that? Why should the citizen be sorry that he is not required to pay more for a place on which to build his house? Why should the business man be sorry that it does not cost him more for a spot on which to build a store? Why should builders, either "bosses" or journeymen, be sorry that sites are not so costly as to make the building trade even duller than it is? This expression of the Times must have been made thoughtlessly, for surely it sees that the business interests of a community cannot be benefited by higher prices for opportunities to locate or do business there. Prosperity may make high prices, but high prices cannot make prosperity. Had the Press, or Mr. Ammidown, or Mr. Carnegie, regretted that residence and business sites were not dearer, it would have been understood as part of their philosophy, for they believe that it is high prices rather than great production that makes prosperity. But such is not the philosophy of the Times, nor of any one else capable of distinguishing a cause from an effect.

In the supposed interest of farmers a bill has been introduced into the Minnesota legislature fixing the maximum rate of interest at eight per cent. It is urged in behalf of the bill that it will drive away brokers and leave the whole money lending field of the state to bankers, though what advantage would accrue from that is not obvious. The experience of other states, notably of New York, where usury forfeits the whole loan and is a prison offense besides, should have been by this time a sufficient warning that interest is not to be either abolished or reduced below what money is worth by repressive laws. Not only have these laws been ineffectual to reduce interest in New York, but they have increased the cost of borrowing to small borrowers, by enhancing the risk. Legal interest here is six per cent, yet borrowers of large amounts on good security find no difficulty in borrowing at a rate considerably

less, while to borrow in small amounts or upon doubtful or mere personal security involves a cost in some form that makes the expense run far above six and often as high as fifty per cent. This goes to show that usury laws are unnecessary when circumstances favor low rates, and ineffectual when they do not.

Last week the grand jury of New York county filed three hundred indictments. It is presumed that in each case sufficient presumptive evidence of guilt was obtained; but three hundred cases are a great many for one body of men to consider in the short space of a month, even though called upon to consider but one side of each case. According to one of the grand jurors, however, the work could not have been very burdensome. He, with the air of a man who felt the whole duty of a grand jury is to find indictments, informed the court that he and his associates would have found five hundred instead of three, if necessary. Grand jurors are, of course, to be commended for willingness to work, even to the extent of finding five hundred indictments in one month; but they should not forget, what they very likely often do forget, and what, considering the influences that surround them, they cannot be wholly blamed for forgetting, that grand juries are organized, not so much to institute as to prevent prosecutions. It is their function, both historically and in legal theory, to stand between the individual and persecution. They should, of course, see to it that the probably guilty are duly presented for trial; but they should be more, rather than less, careful to see that where reasonable probability of guilt does not exist the individual shall be shielded from the vexation, expense and indignity of a criminal trial. The exercise of such care may be quite consistent with the finding of three hundred indictments in one month and a willingness to find two hundred more in the same time, but the fact is less suggestive of a purpose to prevent unjust prosecution than anxiety to make a record for finding many indictments.

Simon Sterne calls the attention of single tax men to the market stand investigation now proceeding in this city, and suggests that it offers an object lesson of "what would be the condition of society if the state or municipality were to confiscate private ownership in land, and become thereby the sole landlord of all business and residential property in the city of New York, as it is now of the markets." That readers outside of New York may understand Mr. Sterne's meaning, it is proper to explain that New York city, which has long owned Washington market and rented stands to dealers doing business there, recently erected a new market further up town, to which former occupants of Washington market have removed. In the award of stands in the new market favoritism, collusion and bribery occurred, which the investigation referred to is bringing to light; and it is to these that Mr. Sterne alludes. Mr. Sterne, who is one of our leading lawyers, is also a student of political economy, and it seems almost inexcusable that he should raise an objection to the single tax so puerile as this.

The ultimate of the single tax is the taking of rent for public use. This the city has never aimed to do respecting its markets; but it has aimed to create vested private rights in the stands. Though it has not sold titles, it has long charged low rentals, leaving lessees to sublet at a large profit. To such an extent was this carried on, that lessees claimed vested rights in the difference between the actual annual value of their stands and the rent they paid to the city; and the city by renewing the leases from year to year at the old rent, regardless of increased value, respected the claim. And so it happened that citizens of New Jersey and even of New England, to say nothing of citizens of New York, drew incomes from the rent of stands they did not use. In essence, despite its form, the system was one of private ownership.

When the new market was opened it was supposed that the same system would continue. Hence, men who had no intention of using stands in the market, resorted to bribes and "influence" to get leases; and men who did intend to use stands, also resorted to bribes and "influence" lest they might be excluded. If it had been understood that the occupants of stands would be compelled to pay annually the actual value of the stands they used, does Mr. Sterne suppose there would have been any such scandalous conduct as the market investigation has exposed? Instead of offering an object lesson against the single tax, this market investigation offers one against private ownership. It goes to show that the principle of private ownership is a breeder of corruption. Just as the sale in full of the old common lands of this city was attended by favoritism and bribery, so was the sale (for in effect it was a sale) of these market privileges.

But Mr. Sterne is too well informed on economic subjects to really suppose that there is any analogy between our system of municipal ownership of markets and the proposition to abolish all taxation save that on land values. He has thoughtlessly jumped to a conclusion. We claim that land is of right common property, and he therefore infers that we would treat it as property already recognized as common is now treated. Had he stopped to consider he would have remembered that in "Progress and Poverty" the very objection to state or municipal leasing that his "object lesson" is intended to suggest is considered in these words: "Nor to take rent for public uses is it necessary that the state should bother with the letting of lands, and assume the chances of the favoritism, collusion and corruption this might involve." Therefore, it is recommended that rent be taken in taxation, which could be done by simplifying rather than extending our present taxing machinery; and inasmuch as the taxation of rent must necessarily be increased just as we abolish other taxes, the practical proposition is to abolish all taxation save that upon land values. This is the single tax.

Surely Mr. Sterne, on reflection, will see in the market scandal no object lesson against the single tax. If the value of market stands were taken annually in taxation, no one would want to own stands except to use them; and there would be no profit in bribery nor advantage in favoritism when every stand holder's tax was known to every other stand holder, as it would be under the single system of public accounts which the single tax would permit and require.

But if Mr. Sterne's object lesson were really appropriate, it would teach only one side of the question. For, after all, our market system, bungling and insufficient as it is, is better than the system which has deprived our city of her common lands, and thereby transferred to private parties a vast income due solely to growth of population, which, if it went into the public treasury, would ever after, allowing for bribery and favoritism, make New York the finest city in the world, while exempting her inhabitants from taxation.

If the young millionaire whom the society for the prevention of cruelty to animals charges with "docking" the tails of his horses were accused of being an anarchist he would probably be angry; but, by comparison with him, an ideal anarchist is a cooing dove, while a revolutionary anarchist is almost an unobjectionable person. The process of "docking" is extremely cruel. The animal is fixed in a frame, and in that helpless condition its tail is chopped off, and a red hot iron applied to the wound. The cruelty of this treatment is not limited to the immediate pain of the operation, it continues while the horse lives, for, deprived of his only weapon against flies that sting like bees, his suffering in summer must be intense. Not only is the operation cruel, it's also a crime by law. Being a crime, whoever perpetrates it proves himself an anarchist

in the bad sense usually attached to that term; and in that it is wanton and cruel he proves himself worse than the anarchist, who, however lawless and violent, justifies his acts by the beneficence of his motive.

The last important act of the house of representatives of the Fiftieth congress was the unanimous adoption of a joint resolution inviting free trade with Canada. The resolution did not say free trade, but "commercial union"; it meant free trade, though, and as THE STANDARD is not a member of Congress, either of the timid democratic or the artful republican species, there is no reason why THE STANDARD should not say so. But the resolution did not propose to have free trade with Canada unless Canada would join us in shutting all the rest of the world out from us, and ourselves from all the rest of the world. It required the president to appoint a commission to meet a similar commission from the Dominion for the purpose of preparing a plan of commercial union; but he was not to do this until Canada had declared a desire for commercial union on a basis of uniform internal taxes, uniform import duties on articles brought into either country from other nations, and no duties whatever upon trade between the United States and Canada.

The news of the passage of this resolution was not received with acclaim by the government organs across the border. One of them said, not without sense, it must be conceded, that it was a proposition to Canada from her southern neighbor to make a declaration of independence from the British empire by placing British subjects across the water in the position of foreigners to their fellow subjects in Canada. Considering that it was proposed to have Canada lay protective duties on British products while admitting those of the United States, it did look very much that way. But that would not have been a bad idea from the point of view of experimental economics. It would have given to protectionists, who insist that every body of people living under the same general government should be protected against trade with all other people, an opportunity to explain the relation to the protection system of a plan which establishes free trade between one nation and part of another while protecting the latter against the other part of itself.

Nothing can be urged for the free trade we have between our states which does not apply with equal force in favor of free trade between us and the dominion of Canada—the rest of the world, too, for the matter of that, but the application to Canada is so obvious that the most crisply cooked figures in the protection figure kitchen can hardly deceive. The relations of some of our states to Canada are closer naturally than to their sister states. And on both sides of the border the desire for free intercourse is strong, so strong upon the Canadian side that it has there taken the form of demand for political annexation. Commercial union would meet this demand. The objection of instability would appeal forcibly to the annexation sentiment if the question were one of choice between annexation and commercial union, but would be waived when the question was one of commercial union or no union at all. This commercial union once established, the tremendous benefits of free trade between the states and Canada would soon be apparent, and would suggest, with all the power of a great object lesson, the benevolent possibilities of general free trade. The great commercial benefits of the federal union seem so much a matter of course that few think of crediting them to free trade; but when an increase of these same benefits was observed to follow an extension of free trade, it would be impossible not to relate the effect to its cause. To rebuild the tariff wall between us and Canada then, would be as impossible as it would be now to build one between the states.

The curious thing about this resolution, that which will puzzle the studious New

Zealander, who on the ruins of London bridge may while away his time with a pocket history of the United States, is the fact that it was adopted unanimously by the identical body through which the modest little Mills bill was allowed to but barely skim. It would be almost worth living a thousand centuries or so to watch the expression of misery on the face of that poor New Zealander when he tries to explain to himself why the wise men of the old republic of the west should have strenuously objected to a little percentage reduction of the protective tariff, and immediately afterward consented to its entire abolition so far as it affected a great neighboring empire. Unless some tradition of practical politics shall survive the wreck of our civilization, the New Zealander will not get a satisfactory explanation. Nothing else could explain why twice two should be five between the United and all the rest of the world, and a good honest four between Canada and the United States, with the rest of the world shut out.

#### SOCIETY NOTES.

The Patriarchs' ball and the inauguration ball to-morrow night will bring to an end a season remarkable for its number of entertainments. As the chronicle of social festivities for the last five months is scanned, the wonder grows that those who have so constantly figured in these affairs have either the inclination or strength to participate in the closing gayeties of the season. Indeed, taking into consideration the life at Newport and Lenox, it would seem there has been no cessation since last August. There is yet something to look forward to after this week. The Centennial ball in April, when revolutionary ancestry will be a requirement rather than wealth and beauty, though the latter attributes are certainly necessary to make the affair a success.—[New York Tribune, March 3.]

There is a strike in progress at Carbon and Hillsville, Pa., in the limestone quarries. Thirteen writs of ejectment were last week served on Knights of Labor tenants of company houses, and the authorities, acting under orders of John A. Logan, Jr., evicted twelve families, setting their household goods out in the highway. Women with children were compelled to shelter with neighbors. Five deputy sheriffs are now guarding the property of the company.

The latest fancy in expensive appointments for the homes of millionaires is bimetallic cooking utensils. They are made of heavy copper, with cemented and welded linings of one-sixteenth inch sterling silver. The idea is Parisian, and the vessels themselves are imported from France. A salesman at Tiffany's exhibited some of these costly pots and pan to a San reporter. The prices were, for a small stewing dish \$20, a fish kettle \$55, asparagus or vegetable kettle \$110, boiling kettle \$85, samovar \$65.

Yesterday the wife of Raphael Bounairoia gave birth to a fully developed child in their miserable lodging place at 101 Water street in Pittsburgh, Pa., but the child mysteriously disappeared shortly after its birth. On investigation the man confessed that he had taken the child and placed it on a floating cake of ice and started it down the river. The man was locked up on a charge to await further developments. In the mean time the police are still at work. The place where the woman is lying sick is in one of those miserable lodging houses on Water street, and eleven or twelve people are living in two rooms.—[Columbus, Ohio, Dispatch, Feb. 26.]

August Belmont's chef is said to receive \$7,000 a year for his superior knowledge of culinary manipulation.—[New York Evening World.]

During the week ending March 2 there were 857 deaths in New York city, of which 532 were in tenements and 165 in public institutions, leaving 160 as the quota for the private residences and better class of apartment houses.

In the Morris county, N. J., poor house there is a tramp who has passed through a most terrible experience of freezing and fasting. He is Frank Harris, who arrived in this country from Ireland in the latter part of last November. He tried to get work in New York but failed, and started out into New Jersey hoping to find shelter on some farm until spring. On January 21 he reached Rockaway, a little town in Morris county, tired, sick and faint for want of food, and as it began to grow dark he fell fainting by the roadside. It was bitterly cold, and he managed to crawl into a haystack in the field near the roadside and draw some of the hay around him. How long he lay there he does not remember, but when he became conscious it was to find that both his legs were frozen, and he was too weak to move or call for help. Helplessly he lay there through the long, cheerless days and the silent freezing nights, slowly starving to death, freezing on cold days and thawing on warm days, until it seemed as though the horrible pains in his legs would drive him to madness. Nineteen days and nights he lay there, and on Saturday last he was rescued by Mr. David Stone of Rockaway, who saw his boots sticking out of the hay. He was unconscious then, and it was thought that he was dead. Judge Cox had him taken care of, and when he was strong enough to stand the operation both legs were amputated. He is slowly recovering.—[New York Times.]

#### MEN AND THINGS.

The most dramatic event of our day has been the collapse of the London Times' accusations against the Irish parliamentary leaders. The forgery of the letters on which the Times relied for proof of its assertions has been confessed, the forger has taken his own life, and the reputation of the great English journal—a reputation such as no other newspaper ever enjoyed—lies in ruins, probably never to be re-established.

It is a heavy retribution that has overtaken the Times, and it seems probable that its full measure has not yet been meted out. But be it as heavy as it may, the retribution will be all too light for the offence it punishes. For the crime of the Times was committed, not against a few individuals, but against an entire people. It involved not merely the personal reputations of Mr. Parnell and his colleagues, but the freedom and happiness of millions of Irishmen. Men have been thrust forth from their homes, have gone in jeopardy of life and liberty, have languished and died in prison, because the Times lent the sanction of its reputation to a lie. The disgraceful coercion laws that have rendered Russian administrative methods possible in Ireland, could never have been enacted had not the Times forgeries enabled the Tory government to insinuate, with a show of probability, that the Irish political leaders were leagued with, and perhaps dominated by, cutthroats and assassins.

The plea of absence of any guilty knowledge will be of small service, either to the Times or to the ministry which has aided and abetted the Times, before the tribunal of public opinion. There may, indeed, have been no express conspiracy of forgery and falsehood. But it is clear that the managers of the Times and the officials whom they served, purchased and published Pigott's forgeries, not because they supposed them to be authentic documents, but because they believed they would be serviceable ones. Whether the letters were genuine or forged, they never asked and they probably never cared. It was enough for them that the forgery would be very difficult to prove. They bought the letters and used them, not as documents whose authenticity they themselves had examined into and could vouch for, but as deadly weapons of offense. And it is altogether probable that but for a lucky accident they would have succeeded in their attempt. For such baseness the law provides no adequate punishment.

But it will not do for us on this side of the Atlantic to be too hasty in our stone throwing at the Times and its abettors. We don't forge letters from Mr. Parnell—perhaps because there is no particular demand for that kind of documents. But we do forge extracts from the Times when it suits our purpose, and stick to them with a brazen effrontery of falsehood that even the Times has failed to show. It would be laughable, were it not so sad, to see with what virtuous indignation the Tribune and the Press and other protectionist papers, that a few months ago were eagerly circulating the forgery about Irishmen and free trade, are now rebuking the Times for its unprincipled conduct.

What was the moving cause of the Times forgeries? It is easy to say that they were engendered in the heat of political animosity. It is easy to lament that men should be so carried away by partisan passion as to forget the claims of decency and honor. But that isn't answering the question. Dig down to the root of the matter, trace the political animosity to its original source, and we shall find it springing from the denial to the people of Ireland of the right to use the natural opportunities around them. Imagine Ireland really free. Imagine the equal right of every Irishman to the soil of his country acknowledged and secured by the operation of the single tax on land values. Imagine all restrictions, whether of fine or prohibition, removed from Irish industry, and every Irishman free to apply his labor as he saw fit, and to dispose of the product of his industry at his pleasure. What possible cause could there be then for contention between Irishmen and Englishmen?

The great social crime is the sure breeder of the individual crime. It has developed the forger of the Times letters as surely as the tramp and the professional mendicant. The laws of nature may not be outraged with impunity. If

society persists in robbing men of their birthright, society must pay the penalty.

The Press, after devoting its energies for months past to the effort to make people believe that the absolutely infallible way to secure men employment is to forbid them to work at the occupations which best suit them, has now changed its ground and is groping round trying to find out why so many men are unemployed. On this subject it has been seeking the opinions of quite a number of prominent men in New York—among others, of Mr. Samuel Jacoby, formerly treasurer of the Produce exchange. Mr. Jacoby's solution of the problem is ingenious. He says, or at least the Press says he says, that the whole trouble is that people will persist in getting married. "To my mind," Mr. Jacoby told the Press reporter, "early marriage is the prime cause of this and other evils in our present social system. The young man should not marry until he is solidly established in life, and knows what he is doing. *He will not marry even then if he has any sense.*" The italics are *The STANDARD's*, not the Press's.

The United States express company is about to extend its connections across the Atlantic. It has been establishing agencies in the principal cities of Europe, and announces that it will soon be in a position to receive a package in Paris and deliver it in Chicago or San Francisco at a minimum of cost to the owner.

This is a distinctly good thing for the public; but it is a most extraordinary thing for the United States express company to have done. For the president and guiding spirit of the United States express company is Mr. Thomas C. Platt; and Mr. Thomas C. Platt is one of the leaders of that political party which has, for years past, been proclaiming that any increase in our facilities for intercourse with foreign countries would surely be followed by the ruin of American industries. It is evident that Mr. Platt, the man of business, regulates his conduct on principles altogether different from those which guide the actions of Mr. Platt, the politician. General Harrison's remark about maxims and markets would seem to be specially applicable to the case of Mr. Platt.

Quite by accident, I secured the other day a copy of the Monthly Bulletin of the Charity organization society for February. The bulletin announces itself as "a confidential communication for members and constituents of the society exclusively;" but as my copy came to me without any stipulations of secrecy, there can be no harm in my talking about it a little.

The first page announces that the society's laundry is now established and ready to take orders for work. Ordinary family washing is to be done at fair current prices, and members of the society are asked to patronize the new enterprise "so far as they can do so without detriment to worthy people already employed by them." A curious feature about this laundry is the announcement that "as soon as women are properly trained they will be graduated and others taken in their places, always reserving sufficient trained hands to guarantee as good work as is done elsewhere." "Graduated" is the society's euphemism for discharged. It seems that the inducements to the energetic study of the laundry business are not as tempting as they might be.

Next comes the story of a certain Rev. or ex-reverend Robert J. Johnson, who seems to be a pretty hard case. Mr. Johnson is a native of Belfast, Ireland, and came to this country four years ago. During that time he has been the pastor of three congregations, the last of which he abandoned in July, 1887. Since that date he has been making collections for alleged charitable purposes in this city, and living in exceeding comfort on the proceeds. The Charity organization society, however, heard nothing of him until January, 1889. After a long search he was arrested in the St. Denis cafe and sent to state prison for two years, receiving "a dignified but scathing lecture" from Judge Cowing, which no doubt affected him very much. His subscription book was found on him when he was arrested. It contained entries of donations amounting to \$5,085. The report adds that "a great deal of the money he had obtained was not entered at all, and there is no way of finding out the full extent of his stealings." Also we learn that "the man's respectable appearance and good address probably inspired complete confidence."

Now observe, that here was a professional swindler, pursuing his calling with considerable success, right here in New York, for fully eighteen months before the society even heard of him. He lived at first-class hotels, dressed well, and apparently took no pains to conceal his vocation. After several years of comfort he gets a dignified but scathing lecture from Judge Cowing and goes to state prison for two years. If he behaves himself he will be out in twenty months. It can hardly be said that the charity organization society is discouraging his particular kind of pauperism very successfully.

On the next page appear the "January statistics," giving the number of reports received, sent out, referred for investigation, etc. The total number of families registered is now 119,583. It occurs to me that if I were going into business as a professional pauper, I would adopt the name and address of some one of these 119,583 families on which a favorable report had been filed. This would give me a sort of certificate of good character to start with, and a little care and ingenuity would do the rest. Of course, I might be reinvestigated, found out, and sent to the work house for a term. But when a man gets down to such a depth of distress as to be willing to have his character, antecedents and present miserable condition put on file in a quasi-public office, I doubt if the work house has any more terror for him than state prison has for men like the Rev. Robert J. Johnson.

Then comes the black list of the society—a catalogue of societies, private almoners and individuals, concerning whom members are advised to seek further information from headquarters before giving them anything. There are just eighty names in this list. But it is only fair to say that some of them are duplicates, the same concern occasionally figuring twice, once under its corporate title and again under the name of its manager.

Now it happens that one of these suspicious characters lives out here in Plainfield, and I frequently meet him on the train going to and coming from New York. He is an old gentleman of very respectable appearance, a good talker, and apparently a man of education and culture. And the funny thing about it is that this old gentleman abuses the charity organization society quite as heartily as they can possibly abuse him. He issues his little printed circular, in which he says terrible things about them and denies them to the proof. Is he speaking the truth about them? Are they justified in blacklisting him? I'm sure I don't know. And I don't know any way of finding out.

Consider what this black list, with its eighty names, signifies. It is an assertion that there are just so many suspicious persons preying on the charitably disposed people of New York. If the Charity organization society has thoroughly investigated these suspicious characters and found them unworthy, why doesn't it arrest them, as it did the Rev. Robert J. Johnson, and get Judge Cowing to give them eighty dignified but scathing lectures, with appropriate terms in State prison? If it hasn't investigated and found them unworthy, why doesn't it let them alone? Above all, why does it abuse them only in a confidential communication to its own members? Why not warn the general public against them, and invite them to seek their remedy by a suit for libel? It appears to me that the charity organization people ought to answer these questions. Because otherwise it would seem that the Rev. Robert J. Johnson's real fault was that he wasn't smart enough—that if he had only had the wit to take proper precautions, he might have gone on levying contributions on the public without incurring any more serious penalty than the printing of his name in the society's monthly confidential communication. And if that is so, then the Charity organization society is training professional mendicants in strict accordance with the principles of evolution—the fittest surviving, and the unskillful or careless being punished with dignified but scathing lectures, and imprisonment at hard labor with the hard labor left out.

I have no prejudice against the charity organization society. I have no wish to hint that its managers are otherwise than earnest, self-sacrificing, and sincerely anxious to do good and not evil. The trouble is that they have attempted a work which in the very nature of things is utterly impossible of performance.

That alms giving will breed pauperism, under present social conditions, is equally and inevitably true, whether the alms are given by an organization to selected "worthy" poor, or distributed from a kitchen door to a succession of tramps and street beggars. The pauperism may be of a different and more refined type—it may take on the form of corporations, or be dressed in broadcloth and carry subscription books—but in some form or other it is bound to be developed. And the more efficient the organization of charity, the more dangerous will be the type of pauperism evolved.

It is not difficult to trace poverty to its source. White men are denied access to natural opportunities some of them must be poverty stricken. A Vanderbilt or an Astor would be begging bread within a week if he had no means of getting at the earth, or inducing others to labor on the earth's materials for his benefit. Take away from a man the power of compelling others to labor for him, and the means of inducing others to labor him, and no rat in a trap was ever more pitifully helpless. He is absolutely dependent on his fellow men. They may give him work, or they may give him alms. They must give him one or the other, if he is to live without stealing. But the charity organization society dares not give men work!

How easy is the lesson—if men will but learn it. Here is a horde of helpless men, women, and children, suffering for food, suffering for clothing, suffering for shelter, crowded helplessly together and pressing against the barriers. Not against the "barriers of subsistence," but against the barriers that fence them from the earth. Break the barriers down! Let men have access to the earth that God gave them to live on and by! Let them go to work if they want to, without waiting for the niggard leave of some other men. Then, indeed, it will be possible for the charity organization society to cope with the problem of pauperism—to weed out the men who can work and won't work, and punish them condignly. But it will not be long before there will be no pauperism to cope with and no professional alms collectors to receive dignified but scathing lectures.

T. L. MCREADY.

#### Jefferson's Birthday.

The following correspondence explains itself:

OHIO SINGLE TAX LEAGUE,  
STATE EXECUTIVE BOARD,  
COLUMBUS, Ohio, Feb. 18, 1889.

Hon. Chauncey F. Black, President National Association of Democratic Clubs:

SIR.—At the second conference of the Ohio single tax league, held in Columbus, Ohio, January 10, 1889, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the Single tax league of Ohio, in conference assembled, for the purpose of impressing all men with the fact that the fundamental basis of all our reasoning is, "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," do hereby call on all single tax clubs to, in some befitting manner, celebrate the anniversary of the birth of Thomas Jefferson.

Resolved, That the executive board be instructed to send a copy of this resolution to Chauncey F. Black, of Pennsylvania, president of the Democratic society of Pennsylvania and chairman of the National association of democratic clubs, with the request that, in such manner as may seem to him most fitting, he shall endeavor to secure the co-operation of the democratic societies in honoring the memory, and calling public attention to the principles, of Thomas Jefferson.

Believing that you, sir, and the association of which you are the head represent that element in the democratic party which has not forgotten the principles of Jefferson, and that you will take pleasure in joining in any movement to honor the memory and promulgate the teachings of the greatest of American statesmen, I have the honor of forwarding you the above resolutions. Respectfully yours,

EDWARD L. HYMAN,

Secretary.

[Signed]

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF  
DEMOCRATIC CLUBS,  
YORK, Penn., Feb. 21, 1889.

My Dear Sir.—I have received yours of February 18, conveying resolutions of the Ohio single tax league, requesting the co-operation of democratic clubs in a proper celebration of the birthday of Thomas Jefferson, the author of the "Declaration of Independence," and the founder of the democratic party; and I beg to say that I shall at an early day request the democratic societies of the United States to comply with the suggestion thus made. And I remain, with great respect,

Very truly yours,

[Signed] CHAUNCEY F. BLACK.  
Edw. L. Hyman, Esq., Ohio Single Tax League, Columbus, Ohio.

#### CURRENT THOUGHT.

##### Natural and Human Laws.

Mr. Benjamin Reece is the author of an essay in the Popular Science Monthly for March, in which he endeavors to demonstrate that at least a partial remedy for present social derangements might be found in withdrawing from corporations the feature of limited liability, and compelling every share holder to personal responsibility for all the actions and shortcomings of the collective body of which he and his fellows are the units. He thinks that were this reform adopted, though material development might be retarded for a time, the ultimate effect would be that "co-operation would be an established institution, and the interests of capital and labor, now in constant conflict, would be united, and society would be rewarded by a resultant equal to the sum of their joint effects."

Mr. Reece apparently bases his argument on the proposition that man possesses, over the moral universe, a power which he does not possess over the physical universe. Hence, he begs us to observe that "in the material world, where man's hand is powerless to interfere, there are perfect order and harmonious development; but in the moral and social worlds, which are always subject to man's petty and ill considered meddling, we have great disorder and confusion." And he illustrates his meaning by picturing the horrible results that would ensue if man—supposing him to have the same power in physics as in morals—should, for the sake of promoting the commercial interests of Chicago, pass "a law doubling the specific gravity of water in the lakes, so that ocean vessels drawing twenty four feet of water can sail upon the lakes with little more than twelve." The fish in the lakes would die; the weeds and grasses of the bottom would rise to the top to decompose and breed a pestilence; the sandy soils of Michigan would float away, and all sorts of damage would be done.

As a foundation for an economic argument, such a proposition as this will not bear serious consideration. Mankind can no more make moral laws than physical laws. They are just as powerless to compel the wrong to be right as to repeal the law of gravitation and make water run up hill. The author of the universe is its sole law-giver; his statutes are unrepeatable, unamendable and self-enforcing; they must be obeyed, and they always are obeyed. Man's mastery over nature is limited to the power of so adjusting the relations of things to one another—so moving them about—that the operation of natural law upon them may produce desirable results.

As far as regards physical laws, civilized man has learned the lesson of his legislative helplessness pretty thoroughly. We should only laugh at one who should pretend to arrest the flow of a stream by muttering an incantation, or expect a locked door to fly open at the touch of a dead man's hand. We watch the performances of a Heller and a Herrmann with delighted curiosity, but without the slightest idea that they betoken anything more than extraordinary dexterity in moving things about. The engineer designing a bridge, the shipbuilder laying down a vessel, the architect planning a cathedral, do their work successfully by virtue of the absolute invariability of nature's laws. The engineer knows, of a surety, that pieces of iron or steel of a certain kind, arranged in a certain manner, will endure a certain strain. The shipbuilder knows the specific gravity of his materials; he knows how to combine them to secure the greatest strength; he knows just what resistance water offers to a body moving at a certain speed, and how that resistance can be most economically overcome. The architect, in the same way, is absolutely certain that if he combines certain materials in certain ways he will obtain definite results in strength and durability. The tailor shaping a suit of clothes, the housewife baking a batch of bread, the child kneading its mud pies, are all guided by an absolute confidence in the certainty of nature's laws; and if the cloth refuses to cohere, or the bread is heavy and sour, or the mud won't stick together, they know full well that the fault is in their own selection of unsuitable materials, or their own carelessness in combining them. The tailor who should petition a legislature to enact that shoddy should hereafter be as durable as cloth, or the housewife who should ask for a law making it incumbent

on dough to ferment without yeast, would be pretty thoroughly laughed at.

But when it comes to moral laws—to laws affecting the actions and conditions of man himself—the power of the universal lawgiver is strangely denied. Men who would merely laugh contemptuously at the idea of a machine which should develop more power than had been put into it, are heard to gravely assert that it is quite possible to make men rich by taxing them, and that the only way to assure the full exercise of their wealth-producing powers is by forbidding them to exercise those powers in the natural way. The farmer who produces wheat destined, after a series of exchanges, to be consumed by Spaniards who give iron ore in exchange for it, by Frenchmen who give silks and velvets, and by Englishmen who pay for it with hosiery and tin plates—that farmer is invited to believe that his condition will be seriously bettered if men are stationed along our coasts to confiscate certain portions of the iron ore, of the silks and velvets, of the hosiery and tin plates, for which the wheat has been exchanged. And the foolish farmer believing this extraordinary nonsense, and finding that nevertheless the promised improvement of his condition is somehow strangely deferred, invokes further legislative interference in the shape of taxes upon mortgages, which must be paid out of his own pocket, and taxes upon the things which he himself consumes, and thinks that *that* is going to help him. If any one should suggest to him that he could increase his wealth by breaking up the road leading from his farm to the nearest market town, or by paying double freightage to the railroads, and double prices to the storekeeper, he would simply be amused at his interlocutor's stupidity. Yet he submits to just such impositions and inconveniences, without even a protesting ballot, when inflicted under legislative sanction. He doesn't believe that the legislature can make water flow up hill; but he has a confused notion that it can, somehow, make trade flow up hill; that if only the law says so, he can fill his pockets by letting other people pick them.

Notwithstanding Mr. Reece's unfortunate illustration of the sort of control which he believes mankind to exercise over the laws of the moral universe, it is evident from the latter portion of his essay, that he has at least a confused perception of the unvarying supremacy of natural law in morals as in physics. "Legislative enactments," he tells us, "are daily made, providing for the exertion of social and moral forces, without one thought of the reaction which must inevitably follow; and I may here say that nihilism and political disorders in Russia are the reaction due to laws which restrict political rights; the agrarian troubles in Ireland are the reaction due to its onerous land laws; while our industrial unrest is but the reaction due to legislative interference with natural industrial forces." All this is true enough, with the understanding that the "social and moral forces" called into play by legislative enactments, are natural laws ordained by the creator, and are in no sense "provided" by human legislation. Mr. Reece may have intended the passage we have quoted to be understood in this manner. If he did, it is a pity that he did not follow his argument to its legitimate conclusion, and try to discover what fundamental maladjustment of society it is that has caused the social and moral forces he speaks of to work evil instead of good. For all natural laws are beneficent laws; to think otherwise would be to deny the beneficence of the law giver. And if, under the operation of natural law, humanity suffers evil, the fault must be in humanity itself, and the remedy in humanity's own hand. If the housewife's bread won't rise, the fault is not in the laws which govern fermentation, but in the housewife's wrong arrangement of her materials.

What is the object of civilization? What is the end and aim to secure which mankind organize themselves into communities? What is it we want natural law to do for us? The housewife when she mixes her dough, settles in advance just what she wants to produce, whether bread, or biscuit, or cake, or pie crust, and arranges her materials accordingly, knowing full well that according as she varies her arrangement, the unvarying laws of the physical universe will produce varying results. For what purpose do we mix the human dough that we call society? Surely not merely for the sake of co-operation in wealth produc-

tion. Were that the object, the claims of slavery might justly demand a hearing. What we want is to secure to every human being equal enjoyment of the rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. And if we have failed in this, the fault must be in us. It cannot be in God, or in his unchangeable laws. And the remedy is to be sought, not in futile attempts to change the laws of nature, but in such a rearrangement of society as will allow nature's laws to operate for our benefit, and not for our destruction.

And when the problem is approached with a clear understanding of its nature, how simple is the solution. For what is that thing without which life, liberty, and happiness are alike impossible? The earth itself—the planet we are placed here to inhabit. Who can live, save on the earth, and by what the earth produces? Who can enjoy liberty, save on the earth? Who can pursue happiness if forbidden access to the earth? The equal right to the use of the earth underlies all other human rights. With that acknowledged and secured, our appetites, our ambitions, our love of ease and comfort, our inventive faculties, our sympathy with distress and suffering, are forces of progress, working together beneficially to raise humanity to higher and still higher planes of happiness. But that fundamental right denied, and a few allowed to seize and enjoy the just inheritance of all, and how terrible is the condition to which the operation of natural law reduces us. Our appetites become stimulants to crime, ambition is warped into oppression, the love of comfort degenerates into parasitism, invention is degraded into cuaning, and our sympathy with suffering is the fruitful breeder of pauperism. And ever the loving law-giver looks down upon the earth, pitying our distress, inviting us to believe in him, to trust him, and to follow, not obstruct, his laws.

Such is the lesson Mr. Reece might have learned, if he had but fully appreciated the truth that God alone makes laws, and that all God's laws are good; and that to reap the full measure of their beneficence, man has but to properly submit to their influence.

#### Belief and Unbelief.

The March issue of the North American Review contains two articles illustrative of the unrest in religious and economic thought so happily characteristic of our times—an essay on "Humanity's Gain from Unbelief," by Charles Bradlaugh, and a discussion of the question, "Can our churches be made more useful?" by the Reverend Minot J. Savage, Edward Everett Hale and Washington Gladden.

Mr. Bradlaugh believes that humanity has been a real gainer from skepticism, and that the gradual and growing rejection of Christianity—like the rejection of the faiths which preceded it—has, in fact, added, and will add, to man's happiness and well-being." What Mr. Bradlaugh understands by Christianity is, he explains, the belief in the divine inspiration of the Old and New Testaments; and by the rejection of Christianity he means "the rejection alike of the authorized teachings of the church of Rome and of the church of England, as these may be found in the Bible; the creeds, the encyclopedias, the prayer book, the canons, and the homilies of either or both of these churches. It is the rejection of the Christianity of Luther, of Calvin and of Wesley."

Mr. Bradlaugh finds no difficulty in adding facts in support of his proposition. Slavery, he tells us, has been swept away by unbelievers, and in spite of the strenuous opposition of the churches; the belief in witchcraft and wizardry was once universally defended by the orthodox, and has only yielded to the assault of infidelity; religious toleration itself is the child of unbelief; and science has moved forward only as the shackles that bound human minds to creeds and superstitions have become loosened and been cast away.

All this is very fine, and reads with quite sufficient plausibility. It is true enough that organized religion defended chattel slavery in the past, as it is defending industrial slavery in the present. It is true that the burning of witches was upheld from the pulpit, that persecution has been justified by dogma, that Darwin was stigmatized as a blasphemer, and the teachings of geologists rejected because they conflicted with the teachings of the Mosaic books. But when all this has been said, only half the story has been told. That preachers from their pulpits have

eulogized slavery and denounced scientific progress is no more an argument against Christianity than are the facts that physicians refused to accept the discoveries of Jenner, and clung to the phlogistic theory of disease, an argument against medical science. Mr. Bradlaugh's error is in his misuse of terms. It is not unbelief that has opposed organized religion and given mankind clearer and loftier conceptions of the universe. The unbelief has been in the pulpits and the councils. The faith in God's goodness, the trust in his wisdom, the fearless confidence in truth, have been ranged on the other side, and have found constant and increasing justification.

The essence of Christianity is in the teachings of Christ. Its strength is in the unequalled catholicity of those teachings—in their sublime harmony with the universe. Skepticism, in the pulpit and out of it, may reject them, and proclaim that the teacher was an impractical dreamer and his rules of conduct absurd. But truth will conquer in the end, and man's faith in the wisdom and goodness of his creator will be justified, in spite of all the unbelievers that ever championed error.

It is interesting to turn from the utterances of Mr. Bradlaugh, the apostle of what he thinks is unbelief, to those of the three clergymen who have contributed the second of the North American Review articles mentioned above. Because the utterances of these clergymen illustrate the difference between Mr. Bradlaugh's idea of organized Christianity, and organized Christianity as it actually exists. Mr. Bradlaugh invites us to contemplate a stubborn set of unreasoning fanatics, sullenly resisting every sort of progress and perishing by attrition with advancing truth. Messrs. Savage, Hale and Gladden show us a moving, active organization, endeavoring, perhaps not always wisely or efficiently, but still endeavoring, to align itself with truth—to aid in the development and uplifting of humanity.

Mr. Savage grants at once almost all that Mr. Bradlaugh could possibly ask. He rejects, outright, the doctrines of original sin and of the atonement. "Free minded, well informed people," he tells us, "no longer believe in any 'fall of man.' . . . And yet we are presented with the strange spectacle of hundreds, perhaps thousands of ministers, in all the different churches, who—in private, at least—will frankly confess that they share the belief of all intelligent men in the antiquity and the slow and gradual development of the race from the lowest beginnings. They believe in no Genesis story of either Eden or fall. And yet they go on preaching and administering the sacrament as if nothing had happened. Their one official business is to proclaim a loss that does not exist, and offer a salvation that is not needed. They know this and confess it, and keep on doing it!" The duty of the churches, Mr. Savage thinks, is to "accept the newer, the fuller revelation of God." In other words, they need to make broader and more solid the foundations of their faith. "They should stand for the great truth of the divine in human life." "If all the time, and money, and enthusiasm, and effort had been spent in co-working with the real God in delivering the real man from his real evils, long before this the world might have been the Eden that never was, and that never will be until men intelligently combine to save man here and now from the ills that all can feel and see."

The Rev. Edward Everett Hale also sees that the weakness of the churches is in their failure to deal with the problems of man's life in this world. "To make the churches more useful, the congregations must be churches. That is, they must be organizations, large or small, which have the work of Jesus Christ on their hands and wish to do what he did. Each congregation must wish to open the eyes of the blind and the ears of the deaf, to cast out unclean spirits, and to waken up people who are virtually dead into real life. It must be ready to abolish pauperism and to relieve the poor. It must be ready to teach the ignorant and welcome the stranger." And Mr. Hale suggests that it might be a good thing if our churches could become places to which men might resort for intellectual and moral refreshment, as well as spiritual instruction—places where strangers could come for companionship and sympathy—where "they might warm their feet and read the North American Review, or the Century, or the Journal of Missions, and talk with other people like themselves."

Dr. Gladden's ideas are no less progressive. The church, he thinks, is abandoning "the old notion that the spiritual order was something wholly distinct from, and almost antithetical to, the moral and social order of this world. . . . It begins to see, as it never saw before, that Christianity is not exclusively a scheme for the transportation of a portion of the human race away from this world to a more congenial home beyond the skies, but a plan for the reorganization of life upon this planet; a plan that includes every department of human action—business, politics, society, art, education, amusement—all the interests of life." And the usefulness of the church will increase, he considers, just in proportion as it applies this principle of the universality of Christianity in its different forms of work—in its preaching, in its missionary labors, in its whole system of organization and labor.

It is nothing in favor of Mr. Bradlaugh's argument that the clergymen whose views we have quoted may be working toward an end of which they have no definite conception. It is nothing that they may be stumbling and floundering and making little real progress toward their dimly seen ideals. It is nothing that Mr. Hale, for example, conjoins with his anxiety for the abolition of pauperism a belief in the necessary persistence of poverty, and with his wish to cast out unclean spirits an ardent affection for the unclean spirit of protectionism. The thing to be noticed is that the church is moving—is really trying to use its muscles and its brain—is really struggling from its lower stage of unbelief towards the higher plane of faith in God. The child moves as yet with tottering steps and frequent tumbles. It has not learned to walk alone. But strength and confidence will come with exercise.

#### A Wind From the East Sea.

A wind blew out of the sea by night,  
A wind blew over the town,  
Where the lamplight shuddered and shook in  
fright  
And the stars looked coldly down—  
While the wind blew in from the sea.

It struck the traveller to the bone,  
It sent to his heart a thrill,  
As he thought of sailors drifting lone  
On the dark sea, wide and chill—  
Where the wind-wings sweep the night.

He drew his cloak to his aching breast,  
And muttered a hasty prayer  
For the city's poor, though the city's best  
Had little love or care,  
When the wind moaned out of the sea.

'Round garret eaves in the city's heart  
The wind swept with a moan  
That wakened mothers with sudden start  
To pray in the dark, alone  
With the sea-wind's awful voice.

"O God, that send'st rain and cold,  
Caust Thou not send us heat?  
Canst Thou not send my children gold  
Or fire, or food to eat—  
O Thou who walk'st the sea!

"Must we die here in the city's deep,  
In the sound of the city's glee?  
O Thou that blowest the winter, keep  
My innocent babes and me  
Safe from the bitter sea?"

The wolf's coat thickens in winter time,  
The wild deer findeth food,  
But children starve where the holy chime  
Of church bells ringeth good—  
Oh, the keen wind from the sea!

And houseless maidens hark at the gate,  
To the revels of laughing sin,  
They shiver in cold, they cannot wait,  
There is death without, there is life within—  
O wind from the deadly sea!

Oh, the wind blows out of the sea by night,  
The wind blows over the town,  
Where the lamplight shudders and shakes in  
fright  
And the stars look coldly down,  
While the wind blows in from the sea.

And ever the mothers pray alone,  
And ever the maidens sin  
In dread of the cold, and the wild wind's  
moan  
Is lost in the revels within.  
And ever the winds of want are blown  
From death's insatiate sea.

HAMLIN GARLAND.

#### For the Spread of Thomas Jefferson's Principles.

The York, Pa., Gazette publishes the following letter:

SPEAKER'S ROOM, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 18.] H. H. Chauncey F. Black—Dear Sir: Your plan for the formation of democratic societies throughout the country meets my hearty approval, and I hope our friends everywhere will adopt it and proceed at once to form their local organizations. I am satisfied that effective co-operation in the dissemination of democratic principles can be more certainly and speedily secured in this way than in any other that has been suggested, and it will afford me pleasure to render you all the assistance in my power in the prosecution of your work. Yours truly, J. G. CARLISLE.

## AN AMERICAN HOME.

I had an experience a short time ago which included a good deal of pleasure. I had crossed the continent in a luxurious Pullman "sleeper," had stopped at one of the finest hotels at the terminus of my journey; in short, had thoroughly enjoyed myself. Scarcely anything had been lacking to my physical comfort and well being, and freedom from anxiety as to those wants had been supplemented by the happiness of congenial companionship.

But I was bringing my trip to a close, and I fell to thinking about some things which I will presently relate to you.

I had reached Chicago, on my homeward way, and had been detained there for some days. I quickly began to miss the sunshine and brightness and fresh, sweet air, and the breadth of open country through which I had been passing; and walking through narrow streets and in the shadow of tall buildings, my thoughts turned upon the condition of the poor in our densely populated cities. I had long had an uneasy consciousness that what I knew from report and hearsay, or even from observation that was only superficial, was not knowledge of a vital sort, and had had a desire to approach more nearly to a truthful understanding of real conditions. My attention had been attracted by the account of "A home for self supporting women." I was a self supporting woman, I determined to learn by experience what sort of a home my self supporting sisters of Chicago enjoyed.

The home for self-supporting women is situated about fifteen minutes' walk from the central business portion of Chicago. It occupies two large, three-story-and-basement brick buildings. As I walked toward it from the hotel, the neighborhood became more and more foul and unsightly. The pavements were worn in ruts, and generally out of repair. The buildings seemed to grow poorer and shabbier in appearance. Liquor saloons were frequent, and a number of them were in close proximity to the "home." Evidently the self-supporting women of Chicago were not expected to be as particular about their dwelling places as the dependent women whom they helped to support. That sounds queer, but that's the way I found it. Arriving at the house, I endured a tedious waiting of three-quarters of an hour before I could see the matron. I applied for board, and was told that I could be accommodated. I then asked to be shown to my room, but was informed that the rules of the home forbade the self-supporting women to enjoy its blessings in the privacy of their own apartments until late in the afternoon. Arranging, therefore, to return in time for dinner I went away, to occupy myself about other matters.

I returned between 5 and 6 in the evening, and was shown into the parlor—which had not been open in the morning. Again there was a period of waiting. Then the matron came in, asked me to remove my wraps and make myself "at home," and told me that I should be shown to my room as soon as there was anyone at leisure to take me to it. I felt somewhat uncomfortable to sit thus with hat, sace, hand-bag and umbrella, all dependent upon the space offered by one chair, and it did not seem *real* homelike; but the matron instantly disappeared, and I submitted to the inevitable. As I sat quietly waiting, and trying to explain this curious feature of the "Home" to myself, the girls and women began to come in from their day's occupations. After passing to their rooms, to remove their wraps, they returned to the parlor to chat together. From their conversation I learned that the opening and heating of the parlor was not an every day occurrence, and was due on this occasion to the fact that some charitable ladies had sent word to the matron that they would come and give the girls a little entertainment. Presently the bell rang for dinner; and as no one came to me to show me what I should do, after waiting until nearly all had gone down I appealed to one, who had lingered, for a suggestion. I was told to go down into the basement and take any place I should find vacant.

To face a dining room full of strange faces and find a place for one's self is somewhat of a trial, and is, I believe, not customary among women who are not self supporting. I felt that under other circumstances I should have had to be very much hungrier than I was to to face the ordeal. The places were all filled with

the exception of one at a corner remote from the doorways and to that I found my way. I felt that I was not observed, which was an advantage. Each one was occupied with attending to her own wants, without any of that pleasant chat and merry banter which so heightens the enjoyment of a meal. As soon, however, as I was seated, those about me lost no opportunity to assist me to whatever on the table was beyond my reach. I soon discovered that their apparent self-engrossment was a matter, not of choice or disposition, but of sheer necessity and discipline.

The two front basements were used as dining rooms. The floors were bare, the chairs of unpainted pine, the covers of the tables thin and poor, the dishes heavy and coarse. The dinner consisted of a small piece of boiled meat, rich beets, potatoes, apple sauce, a desert of rice pudding, and bread, butter and tea. The food was of fair quality and fairly prepared. I had reason, subsequently, to think this the least objectionable part of the home's arrangements.

After dinner we returned to the parlor again and the matron called us all to "try and appear at our very best and do honor to the home for self supporting women." The ladies—the noun seemed to have a distinctive meaning in the "Home"—shortly after made their appearance. There were two of them. An elderly gentleman accompanied them as escort, and two lovely looking children—a boy and a girl—came with them to assist in the entertainment.

The performances began with a recitation by one of the ladies. It was the story of a mother and a son. The first part described their separation, in order that the son might go out into the world and make a career for himself. Then came the son's success; his growing pride in himself and shame for his mother's lowly condition; a visit of the mother to her son, planned as "a great surprise" to him; her wounded feelings at his cold, unloving reception of her; her secret escape from his home in heart broken grief; her meeting with an accident upon the street, and being carried to a hospital where her son was acting surgeon, and her final dying in his arms, weeping out her woe in total unconsciousness of her surroundings.

Considering that all this was the story of a self supporting women's struggles their reward, I could not help thinking that its moral was not altogether full of encouragement for the self supporting women who listened to it.

A couple of mildly amusing recitations followed. Next came a cold flourishing performance upon the pianoforte and then the sympathetic spirit of the ladies showed itself in the singing of "Home Sweet Home"—a duet by the children—as a finale! The worst of it all was that I knew this sort of thing to be but too often thought of and talked of with no little pride and self satisfaction as *charity!*—as "ministering of our substance" to the poor and less fortunate! Nothing of all the hardships of the home, with which I soon after became acquainted, burned itself into my soul as did this silk and velvet and feather clad unconscious hardness of heart.

At the close of the entertainment the matron moved a vote of thanks, and then proposed that the girls of the "Home" should do something themselves to add to the evening's pleasure, and suggested the Virginia reel. The set was formed, and one of the girls took her place at the piano; but the "ladies" had quietly slipped away and the "girls" were left to reel alone.

It was now after ten o'clock, and I again sought out the matron and begged to be allowed to go to my room. Now, at last, my room mate was hunted up and called into service to show me the way. She had but recently come to the Home herself, she said, and was feeling very lonely and troubled. Our apartment was a small hall room on the top floor; a small iron bedstead and washstand were the sole articles of furniture; the bedstead was double tiered to accommodate two persons. There was no carpet upon the floor and no closet in the room. Rough board nails were driven into the bare walls and through the panels of the door. The floor, the wood work, the walls, the window, the washstand, bowl and pitcher, everything, were most uncleanly looking and filthy to touch. There was neither soap, nor water, nor towel in the room, and no chair or table to rest anything upon. The mattresses were husked filled, of course, and without any

quilting to keep the contents in place, and they were only a few inches in thickness. A single quilt, not heavy, lay upon each of the beds, and sheets were only obtained after the one maid-of-all-work had been sought for and persuaded to bring them to us; and when secured they were very questionable looking. If they had really been washed and ironed, appearances were very much against them.

Rules, tacked upon the wall of the room, stated that lights were to be put out at 10 P. M.; that no service of any kind was to be rendered to the occupants of the rooms under any circumstances; and that no one was expected to remain in a room after 10 o'clock in the morning. This last rule I found accounted for my not being shown to my room during the day. Small satisfaction would the privilege have given to me if it had been granted.

My companion told me that she had been sleeping in one of the larger rooms, or dormitories, previous to my coming, and she kindly offered, as it was my first night in the "Home," to go back to her old place and allow me the entire room to myself—a thoughtful regard for me which showed, I thought, no little refinement of feeling.

The air of the house was very oppressive; bathrooms were upon every floor in the center of the hallways, and without means of lighting or ventilating other than from the hallways themselves. I opened my window for better air, but when I looked out in the morning and saw the narrow yard, hemmed in by tall tenement houses, and kegs and basins of garbage and rubbish lying all about, I thought I had not gained very much. The next day I found that all of the rooms were fitted up similarly to the one I occupied, but that the larger rooms contained four of the double-tier iron bedsteads accommodating, therefore, eight persons. Altogether, a more comfortless, unhomelike looking place could not well be imagined.

Amid such hard, dreary, and unromantic conditions as these, between 80 and 100 self-supporting girls and women, of good character but probably moderate ability and by no means superior physical strength, are passing their lightless days in this civilized land, in this wondrous nineteenth century!

I talked with the matron, who said that she had had considerable experience in institutions of charity and had only a few months previous undertaken the supervision of this "home."

She told me that the "home" aimed, as far as possible, to be self supporting, but that the heavy rent absorbed nearly all of the income and there was nothing with which to pay for the necessary labor to make and keep the houses cleanly or to add any comforts or sanitary improvements. She told me that it was the most discouraging work she had ever undertaken, that she had already determined to abandon it—as many others before her had done after a short trial—and that she believed that it must certainly fail altogether unless sufficient interest could be inspired in it to raise the necessary means to greatly improve its condition.

So ended my experience in this particular American home. And as I came away I could not help thinking, somewhat despairingly, of what would happen if the "necessary means" of which the matron spoke should be provided. Suppose the "home" improved to the uttermost—the sleeping rooms made comfortable, the meal service reformed, the parlors opened every night—would the net results be anything more than to put a few score working women into a position to compete for work at lower wages than less favored women could afford to accept? Would this be a good thing to do? And if it were a good thing to do, could it not be done more economically by giving each of the girls a certain weekly allowance of money, and allowing them to hunt their own homes? These questions rose up to puzzle me. And they are puzzling me still.

L. R. N.

#### One Clear Principle.

D. C. Davis in Choudian, La., Farmers' Union.

The man who wants to use an ax wants to get it cheap, and the man who wants to use land wants it cheap. But don't confound the two things. The title to the ax is derived from the maker of the ax. But the title to land is not derived from the maker of the land, is it?

#### Too True.

Canadian Workman.

"Strike while the iron is hot," says the proverb, but when the man of the house is off on strike, and his wife is compelled to take in washing to support the family, she has to iron while the strike is hot.

#### IN THE RANKS OF THE G. A. R.

##### A Single Tax Man Gets In Some Work and Takes a Look Around.

MURRAYVILLE, Ill., Feb. 24.—During the past week the state encampment of the G. A. R. met at the capital, Springfield. The legislature adjourned for a week so as to give the ex-soldiers the use of the hall of representatives in the capitol for a place of meeting. On the way up the time was improved by some of us in presenting petitions for single tax and electoral reform, mostly to lawyers and bankers, and a few signatures were added. A banker who had his head broken when he was sixteen years old, because he avowed himself an abolitionist, refused to sign but admitted that he had not given the matter much thought and he asserted that we must do something to redress pressing evils. A lawyer, well known in this and other states, frankly confessed his ignorance of the single tax, though he was disposed favorably toward it. Another lawyer had read all Mr. George's works, but confessed that he had not the moral courage to openly say he was a George man. "Say it," said he, "in one of our churches and the people would instantly slap them hands on their pocket books." A third would favor the plan if interest were prohibited; the fourth and fifth opposed, but had not examined; a sixth had only got to the hooting stage, and seemed so superficial that it would not make much difference which side he was on. All were challenged to raise a single valid objection to the land value tax. A minister and a reporter signed readily.

Even where you fail to get a signer the time is not lost. Have your arguments at your tongue's end and in the fewest words. Approach politely, but show that you mean business.

The new governor, Jos. C. Fifer, gave the G. A. R. an address of welcome, in which he asserted that the cause of our civil war was the denial, by a section of the union, of the right of a man to the produce of his own toil; but he failed to state that there was not a section of this union in which that right was yet admitted. He has since been interrogated in writing whether it had ever suggested itself to his mind that making the natural resources of labor the subjects of sale and speculation was even worse in its results than buying and selling the laborers.

The petition for constitutional amendment for single tax, and the one for the Australian system of voting, were left with General Palmer to be delivered to Senator Richard M. Burke, reputed to be a single tax man. General Palmer, an able and most estimable man, seemed favorably disposed to the plan of taxation of land values only, but had not investigated sufficiently, though he promised to give the question the consideration it merited.

To many this was their first visit to the new capitol. It is a noble building, but rather overdone, like the capitol at Washington. One could not help thinking of what Mr. George lately said about the capitol at Albany and that this one too might "stand as a monument to public plunder." The cost so far exceeded the estimates and first appropriations, that the people refused to vote further sums. After repeated attempts to get a majority some one discovered a way of slipping up on the blind side of the voters, and getting by a trick what could not be gotten openly. The law required a majority of the votes cast and the words "For appropriation" were printed on the tickets. Many, if not most, of the voters scratched the words off to show their dissent but neglected to write "Against appropriation" below. They were counted as not having voted on the proposition and by this legal juggling the last appropriation was carried. The lots around the capitol grounds are but poorly improved, being held so high that those who need them cannot afford to buy them, build on them and then pay taxes.

Wm. CAMM.

#### How a King Used to Go to Bed.

Cleveland American Union.

First, a page took a torch and went to the wardrobe where the bedding was kept. The articles were brought out by the keeper to four yeomen who made the bed, while the page held the torch at the foot. One of the yeomen searched the straw with his dagger, and when he found there was no evil thing hidden there he laid a bed of down on the straw and threw himself upon it. Then the bed of down was well beaten and a bolster laid in its proper place. Then the sheets were spread in due order, and over these was laid a fustian. Then came a "pane sheet," which we now call a counterpane. Finally the sheets were turned down and some pillows laid on the bolster, after which the yeoman made a cross and kissed the bed where their hands were. And then an angel carved in wood was placed beside the bed, and the curtains let down. After this a gentleman usher brought the king's sword and placed it at the bed's head, and the whole was then delivered into the custody of a groom, or page, who watched it with a light burning until the king retired to rest.

#### Paying the Piper.

Baltimore Sun.

Since November the Pennsylvania dukes of the protectionist orators have been finding out the difference between "enabling" the employer to pay high wages and the paying of them. Wages have been reduced in many industries, and now from Reading comes the news that on March 1 wages are to be cut down to a point not reached in many years.

## A FAMILY IN THE STREET.

ST. LOUIS.—The Post-Dispatch prints a story of two reputable women and six children evicted at Twenty-first street and Cass avenue. From Tuesday until Friday they slept out of doors huddling around a wretched cook stove, while the winter's wind roared and the snow fell upon their miserable belongings. At last charitable neighbors who had not much to give, assisted by the Post-Dispatch, came with temporary relief. During the day the women sought for work while the children watched by the semblance of household stuff or took turns in begging. The women could not find work and the children's pennies were few. "Along about Thursday," the account says, "the matter came to the ears of the Provident association, and the wagon was sent around there with a bushel or two of coal, which was dumped out on the ground in front of the old cooking stove."

Do you see this picture of the practical workings of an organized charity?

Two women, six children, sleeping out of doors since Tuesday. "Along about Thursday" the Provident association examines into the case. It is fair to presume that the "applicants" were found to be "worthy," and so the machinery is put in motion, and organized charity proceeds to relieve. The proper "requisition" is made out and the "stub" is filled in, the "order" is issued, and the proper entries are made in the proper books, and as a result "the wagon is sent round and dumps a bushel or two of coal on the ground in front of the old cooking stove." The driver gathers up the reins and away goes the wagon. On returning to the office the proper entries are again made, and organized charity, having done its duty, looks about to find other deeds of kindness.

This is not an attack on the Provident association. This is not a sneer at the kindly people who paid for that coal. What was done in this case is just what organized charity *must* do in such cases, neither more nor less; but when love can be "organized" and fulfill its mission, charity can be organized and give relief, and not before. The report in the Post-Dispatch says that "both the women were of good character and hard working when work could be found." Well, why did they not find work? Did they not live in America, "where labor is well paid and occupies a dignified position in marked contrast with the pauper laborers of Europe?" What about those comparative tables of wages? Is not the protective tariff in force for the benefit of American laborers? Did not these women bask under its benign influence?

Remember, all this happened at Twenty-first and Cass avenue, in St. Louis, Missouri; not in Ireland, or Italy, or Russia. Have you read a more pitiful tale describing suffering in any other country recently?

Think a moment and see what is suggested by this incident. Where, for instance, is the difference between this poverty and the poverty of London, Naples or Moscow? What is there to show that old world poverty has a different source than St. Louis poverty?

Poverty in free trade England and poverty in protected Italy. Imperial London has her reeking East End, and republican St. Louis her slums—in what respect do they differ, taking into account London's millions with our less than half a million of population. Catholic Ireland and Protestant America show each their need of misery, and poverty cannot logically be charged against any nation or people as arising from any of these causes.

And yet people go organizing charities which cannot relieve and poulticing cancers which can only be cured by the knife.

Count Tolstoi was in the right when he said that "we were willing to help the poor in every way except by getting off their backs and letting them help themselves."

As people starve in London, Naples and Moscow because opportunities to labor are denied them, so these St. Louis shivered and starved because they could not find work.

The single tax is the remedy for the relief of God's poor everywhere. It drives the dogs out of the mangers and forbids the first comers at the table to occupy all the chairs. It relieves labor of restrictions and gives freedom.

The single tax wagon dumps no bushel or two of coal to shivering women sleeping in the street—it makes it possible for

those women to get their share of coal and all else needed by their own exertions. It takes the weight of restricted opportunity from their shoulders; it gives them a chance to help themselves.

HAMILIN RUSSELL.

## The City Streets.

John Boyle O'Reilly.  
A City of Palaces! Yes, that's true: a city of palaces built for trade; Look down this street—what a splendid view of the temples where fabulous gains are made. Just glance at the wealth of a single pile, the marble pillars, the miles of glass, The carving and cornice in gaudy style, the massive show of the polished brass; And think of the acres of inner floors, where the wealth of the world is spread for sale; Why, the treasures inclosed by those ponderous doors are rich as an Eastern fairy tale. Pass on to the next; it is still the same, another Aladdin the scene repeats; The silks are unrolled, and the jewels flame for leagues and leagues of the city streets!

Now turn away from the teeming town, and pass to the homes of the merchant kings. Wide squares where the stately porches frown, where the flowers are bright and the fountain sings; Look up at the lights in that brilliant room, with its chandelier of a hundred flames! See the carpeted street where the ladies come whose husbands have millions or famous names: For whom are the jewels and silks, behold! on those exquisite bosoms and throats they burn; Art challenges Nature in color and gold, and the gracious presence of every turn. So the Winters fly past in a joyous rout, and the summers bring marvelous cool retreats; These are civilized wonders we're finding out as we walk through the beautiful city streets.

A City of Palaces—Hush! not quite: a city where palaces are, is best; No need to speak of what's out of sight; let us take what is pleasant and leave the rest:

The men of the city who travel and write, whose fame and credit are known abroad,

The people who move in the ranks polite, the cultured women whom all applaud.

It is true, there are only ten thousand here; but the other half million are vulgar clod

And a soul well bred is eternally dear—it counts so much more on the books of God.

The others have use in their place, no doubt; but why speak of a class one never meets!

They are gloomy things to be talked about, those common lives of the city streets.

Well, then, if you will, let us look at both: let us weigh the pleasure against the pain,

The gentleman's smile with the bar room oath, the luminous square with the tenement lane.

Look around you now, 'tis another sphere, of thin clad women and grimy men:

There are over ten thousand huddled here, where a hundred would live of the "upper ten."

Take care of that child! here, look at her face, a baby who carries a baby brother; They must learn to be helpers in this poor place, and the infant must often nurse the mother.

Come up those stairs where the babies went: five flights the little one climbed in the dark;

There are dozens of homes on the steep ascent, and homes that are filled with children—hark!

Did you hear that laugh, with its manly tones, and the joyous ring of the baby voice?

'Tis the father who gathers his little ones, the nurse and her brother, and all rejoice.

Yes, human nature is much the same when you come to the heart and count its beats:

The workman is proud of his home's dear name as the richest man on the city streets.

God pity them all! God pity the worst! for the worst are reckless and need the most;

When we trace the causes why lives are curs'd with the criminal taint, let no man boast:

The race is not run with an equal chance: the poor man's son carries double weight;

Who have not are tempted; inheritance is a blight or a blessing of man's estate.

No matter that poor men sometimes sweep the prize from the sons of the millionaire;

What is good to win must be good to keep, else the virtue dies on the topmost stair;

When the winners can keep their golden prize, still darker the day of the laboring poor;

The strong and the selfish are sure to rise, while the simple and generous die obscure;

And these are the virtues and social gifts by which progress and property rank over man:

Look there, O woe! where a lost soul drifts on the stream where such virtues overran:

Stand close—let her pass! from a tenement room and a reeking workshop graduate: If a man were to break the iron loom or the press she tended, he knows his fate;

But her life may be broken, she stands alone—her poverty stings, and her guideless feet,

Not long since kissed as a father's own, are dragged in the mire of the pitiless street.

Come back to the light, for my brain goes wrong when I see the sorrow that can't be cured.

If this is all righteous, then why prolong the pain for a thing that must be endured? We can never have palaces built without slaves, nor luxuries served without ill-paid toil; Society flourishes only on graves, the moral graves in the lowly soil.

The earth was not made for its people: that cry has been handed down as a social crime;

The meaning of life is to barter and buy; and the hardest and shrewdest are masters of time.

God made the million to serve the few, and the questions of right are vain conceits; To have one sweet home that is safe and true, ten garrets must reel in the darkened streets.

'Tis Civilization, so they say, and it cannot be changed for the weakness of men. Take care! take care! 'tis a desperate way to goad the wolf to the end of his den.

Take heed of your Civilization, ye, on your pyramids built of quivering hearts; There are stages, like Paris in '93, where the commonest men play most terrible parts.

Your statutes may crush but they cannot kill the patient sense of a natural right; It may slowly move, but the People's will, like the ocean o'er Holland, is always in sight.

We have churches enough, and they do their best; but there's little of Christ in our week day laws;

The gospel is taught, but the gain is lost: we punish the sin while we cherish the cause.

Not gold, but souls, should be first in an age that bows its head at the Sacred Word;

Yet our laws are blind to a starving wage, while guarding the owner's sweat wrung hoard.

"It is not our fault!" say the rich ones. No; 'tis the fault of a system old and strong:

But men are the judges of systems: so, the cure will come if we own the wrong.

It will come in peace if the man right lead; it will sweep in storm if it be denied:

The law to bring justice is always decreed; and on every hand are the warnings cried.

Take heed of your progress! Its feet have trod on the souls it slew with its own pollutions;

Submission is good; but the order of God may flame the torch of the revolutions.

Beware with your Classes! Men are men, and a cry in the night is a fearful teacher;

When it reaches the hearts of the masses, then they need but a sword for a judge and preacher.

Take heed, for your Juggernaut pushes hard: God holds the doom that its day completes;

It will dawn like a fire when the track is barred by a barricade in the city streets!

## SOME FOREIGN ITEMS.

Sir George Grey, the well known liberal, recently presided at a meeting of the Marlborough, New Zealand, anti-poverty society. A prominent clergyman made the address of the evening.

Bribery must indeed be pretty nearly at its last gasp in old England, if the following story is true: It is related that at one of the polling stations in Essex county a reporter was offered a cigar by a friend, who happened to be the agent of one of the candidates. The cigar was declined, whereupon the following colloquy took place between the agent and one of two laborers who were standing by: "Ye don't gie us cigars, and we want 'em more than he do." "You know I am not allowed to," the agent replied. The rustic, however, was resolved to drive a coach and horses through the corrupt practices act, and brilliantly exclaimed, "Then why don't ye gie 'em to him and he gie 'em to us?"

A declaration which, as Carlyle would have put it is "significant of much," is that of Lord Wolseley, who recently said that he was in favor of military conscription in England. The only hope he sees for his country in the coming struggle for existence among nations is to take every young man from his "unhealthy home" for at least two years of his life, and subject him to the invigorating moral and physical influences of the barrack room. He does not say so but of course the "struggle for existence among nations" is merely a will o' the wisp to lead the people astir and prevent them from interesting themselves in the "struggle for existence among classes."

Here is a piece of interesting news for American vineyard owners and wine merchants. The story is that a consignment of 1,500 casks of wine from Cetee has been seized by the authorities (Laboratoire municipal of Paris), whose analysts have found that there is not in the whole a single drop of the juice of the grape. Water, alcohol, glycerine, plaster, salts, and Aristotle's berries for the coloring—that is the mixture.

The duty upon the importation of ordinary books into Canada is fifteen per cent, but Bibles are let in at a lower rate. A large chest of "Bibles" recently taken through the custom house turned out to be Mormon "Bibles." The officers decided against their canonicity and remorselessly levied the full tax of fifteen per cent, and the government, on being appealed to, supported their decision.

The greatest oddity in the culinary department of Berlin life is the extensive use of horseflesh. About 7,000 horses are eaten yearly, the flesh being partly sold as butcher's meat in shops devoted to the purpose, and partly worked up into sausages which are

sometimes sold by hawkers in the street at night and in the small hours of the morning. The viand, though used mainly by the poor, is said to be not unknown in the west end of the city. The price ranges from a little over a penny to a little under twopence a pound, whereas the price of beef is much the same as in England.—[Pall Mall Gazette.]

The French economist, M. de Molinari, writing in the *Journal des Economistes*, treats of the industrial prospects of the nations of the continent in a pessimistic spirit. Two great burdens press upon the peoples of the continent—the burden of militarism and that of protection. M. de Molinari sees no hope for the future save in a financial smash, which may teach a much needed lesson to the nations and their rulers. Socialism, he avers, is growing with the continual increase of armaments and the ever tightening of the bonds of protection. Thus the autocrats and the military caste are preparing a Nemesis for themselves. He instances Germany as an example of the ruinous effects of protection. In 1888 Germany exported £54,900,000 worth of goods; in 1886, £49,500,000. The significance of these figures is hardly to be overlooked.—[London Echo.]

**The Wonderful Carlsbad Springs.**—At the Ninth International Medical Congress, Dr. A. L. A. Toboldt, of the University of Pennsylvania, read a paper stating that out of thirty cases treated with the genuine imported Powdered Carlsbad Salt for chronic constipation, hypochondria, disease of the liver and kidneys, jaundice, adiposis, diabetes, dropsy from valvular heart disease, dyspepsia, catarrhal inflammation of the stomach, ulcer of the stomach or spleen, children with marasmus, gout, rheumatism of the joints, gravel, etc., twenty-six were entirely cured, three much improved and one not treated long enough. Average time of treatment, four weeks.

The Carlsbad Sprad Salt (powder form), is an excellent Apertent Laxative and Diuretic. It clears the complexion, purifies the Blood. It is easily soluble; pleasant to take and permanent in action. The genuine product of the Carlsbad Springs is exported in round bottles. Each bottle comes in a light blue paper cartoon, and has the signature "Eimer & Mendleson Co., sole agents, 6 Barclay street, on every bottle. One bottle mailed upon receipt of One Dollar. Dr. Toboldt's lectures mailed free upon application.

## Consumption Cured.

An old physician, retired from practice, having had placed his hands by an East India missionary the formula of a simple vegetable remedy for the speedy and permanent cure of Consumption, Bronchitis, Catarrh, Ashma and all throat and lung affections, also a positive and radical cure for Nervous Debility and all Nervous Complaints, after having tested its wonderful curative powers in thousands of cases, has felt it his duty to make it known to his suffering fellows. Actuated by this motive and a desire to relieve human suffering, I will send free of charge, to all who desire it, this recipe, in German, French or English, with full directions for preparing and using. Sent by mail by addressing with stamp, naming this paper, W. A. Noyes, 149 Power's block, Rochester, N. Y.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

## If You Have

**CONSUMPTION | COUGH OR COLD  
BRONCHITIS | Throat Affection  
SCROFULA | Wasting of Flesh**

*Or any Disease where the Throat and Lungs are Inflamed, Lack of Strength or Nerve Power, you can be Relieved and Cured by*

**SCOTT'S  
EMULSION  
OF  
PURE COD LIVER OIL  
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## QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

## Insufficiency of the Single Tax.

**NEW AURORA, Minn.**—In trying to get signatures I am asked a question which puzzles me, and I refer it to you. A has a milling property in our town, which pays \$100 tax. The land, minus improvements, is not worth anything if measured by the value of land alongside of it. Now, if the single tax would lessen the taxes of farmers, and if we require as much public revenue as now, how are we to raise that revenue if such property as A's is to escape taxation? Our town would be a fair illustration of many towns in the west. How do you propose to raise town revenues where land is of very low value?

D. MUNROE.

It would be a sufficient practical answer to this question, and it is essentially a "practical" man's question, to say that when in actual experience it appears that the land values of any community are too low to yield the necessary revenues of that community it will be time enough to consider the advisability of taxing industry for the purpose of making up the deficiency; or, to put the same answer in another form, that when in the process of abolishing taxes on industry, and shifting the burden to the values of land, it appears that though the entire land rent of a community is appropriated in taxes the necessary revenue is not yet raised, it will be time enough to consider the advisability of suspending the shifting process until the land values catch up. Any of your questioners must concede that the insufficiency of land values to meet all the requirements of taxation is no reason why we should tax industry so long as any proportion of land values remain untaxed.

But the question is really only a form of captious opposition, and unless you explain with greater fulness your questioners, when cornered with the reply that insufficiency of land values is no objection to taxing them exclusively as far as they go, will glide into fundamental objections.

The firm foundation of the single tax is that it is right. A tax on products of labor is wrong because it forcibly and without compensation takes from the individual that to which he has the highest possible title—production; but a tax on the value of the land he appropriates does no more than take for public use the value, or part of the value, of a special advantage which he cannot enjoy except by public consent. The former is confiscation, the latter compensation.

Next to the moral plea for the single tax comes the plea of expediency. A tax on products of labor necessarily adds to the price. This is agreed to by all economists of standing, and, as to everything which is produced in free competition, is, as a moment's thought will convince you, unqualifiedly true. Since such a tax adds to the price of the product on which it falls, it follows that the tax tends to diminish demand, and therefore to discourage production. Taxes on land values have a contrary effect. They do not increase the value of land, as you will readily see when you consider that users of land are already paying for it all they will consent or can be forced to pay without a reduction of the supply, and that a tax on land values, when so much land is held out of use, would add to the expense of holding, and, therefore, instead of reducing would increase the supply. From this it follows, since it is clearly expedient to abolish taxes the imposition of which discourages production and to impose those the imposition of which encourages production, that it is expedient to adopt the single tax.

With these leading principles in view, consider the case of towns like yours.

It is true that the single tax would lessen the taxes of your farmers, which under the present system are an unjust burden in three principal ways: First, they fall in higher prices upon everything the farmer buys; second, they narrow his markets by adding, without extra profit to him, to the price of everything he wants to sell; and third, his taxable property being of a kind which cannot escape the eye of the collector, while so much of the taxable property of cities and towns is easily hidden, he is forced to pay a higher proportion than any other class in the community.

It is true, also, that your town would not, under the single tax, get as much revenue from the owner of the milling property as it does now. But as a matter of right, why should it, since the value of the mill belongs to the miller, and only the value of the site to the town? And as a matter of public expediency, why should it want to, since a mill is a good thing to have in a community, and the tendency of taxation is to narrow its

market, diminish its output and close it down?

If your town is as you describe it, the public revenue it yields would be very much reduced by the single tax; but it does not follow that it would be necessary to continue to tax any product of labor. All the expenses of highways, schools, almshouses, prisons, courts and the like, are properly state expenses and should fall upon smaller political divisions in the proportion of their land values to the land values of the whole state; which in cases of towns like yours would make your taxes for such purposes very low, for there is not a state in the union, probably, that has not mineral or urban lands of value great enough to make up, in the matter of state revenues, for the low values of agricultural and village land. And, as to local expenses, if communities where land values are low were unable by the single tax to raise their present revenues they would have to do as individuals do when their legitimate revenue is deficient; either confiscate part of somebody else's revenue, or reduce their expenses. That is to say, such a community would either have to keep on confiscating private property for public use, as it does now in most of its taxes, or reduce its expenses to the point at which its land values would meet them.

L. F. P.

## Landlord and House Owner.

**LONDON, England.**—Twenty years ago A bought a plot of freehold ground with some old cottages upon it in a back street or lane near the Tower of London, paying about thirty years' purchase on the then rental. Subsequently town improvements brought him a customer, B, who took it on eighty years' lease, and bound himself to cover the lot with substantial buildings (suits of offices), paying A a ground rent of £50 per annum, and surrender the buildings at the end of the lease in good repair. B is now receiving about £900 a year rent for his new offices, which cost him only about £1,000 to build. Now, A thinks it a hard case that B should remain untaxed on his handsome profit, while he (poor A) will have to be taxed to the full amount (£50 per annum) under the single tax policy. What think you?

My reply to A was that all ground rents were illegitimate when enjoyed by private individuals, and, as a matter of just and righteous policy, ought to go into the public treasury for public benefit, and having regard to the fact that small owners will gain an equivalent for their loss by having relief from the heavy taxes they now pay on all the articles they consume, besides which trade will be increased by the reform to the extent of finding plenty of employment at good wages and profits.

THOMAS BRIGGS.

You say that B receives £850 a year in rentals over and above what he pays out himself to A. Now the building cost only £1,000. B therefore receives 85 per cent annually on his investment. The rate of interest in England is about 3 per cent, and let us say that premium of insurance and wages of management and profit necessary to repay him for the building which he must finally surrender are 17 per cent on the capital invested. The owner then should get, as capitalist and manager, 20 per cent on £1,000, and the £50 ground rent which he hands over to the landlord, in all £250 per annum. But he gets, as above shown, 85 per cent plus the £50 which goes to the landlord. Why? Simply because the land has enormously increased in value since the commencement of his 80-year lease. The landlord in leasing the plot for that length of time simply signed away his own right to pocket most of the increment of value during a period of 80 years in favor of the houseowner. B is really a landlord and the single tax would take from him, if it were carried to the full rental value point, just £650 a year, under the foregoing hypotheses, and from A, the landlord, it would take £50, all he gets now.

Your statement of the advantages to B the houseowner which would accrue to him as a citizen and a worker is a good one. The loss of the ground rent he now gets would be more than counterbalanced by benefits he would receive.

## Rent of Mines and Forests.

**NEW WESTMINSTER, B. C.**—What in your opinion is the best method of ascertaining the difference in value between the poorest timber and mineral claims in use and others in their vicinity? Would competition do it?

ALEX. HAMILTON,

president tax reform association.

In the case of extensive tracts of timber and mineral lands operated and cultivated by different individuals, competition under the single tax would be sufficient to compel the proper use and give a just rental to the community. But in the case of limited monopolies, as for instance quicksilver mines all owned by one family, or some restricted area on which alone a certain kind of wood could be grown, the community would probably have to

periodically lease the privilege of operating, at public auction, and further exact a royalty on the product. In the case of the timber it might also be necessary to prevent the destruction of young trees.

Of course to make the single tax operate to the best advantage in the first instance, where competition decides the rent, it would be necessary that the right of all to the use of the earth should be recognized—not merely that a land tax is better than other taxes, but that a full rental value tax is necessary to secure justice. When this idea becomes universal then immediately anyone is seen in possession of a valuable monopoly which he is not putting to its best or proper use, on account of the tax being too low, there would be no hesitation on the part of other men to see to it that the rental value tax was raised at the first opportunity to such a point that the owner would have to use the monopoly to good advantage or vacate.

W. B. SCOTT.

## NEW IDEAS, METHODS AND INVENTIONS.

## A Powerful Blowpipe.

The following description may be somewhat of an exaggeration, but it has, no doubt, some foundation: A blowpipe, it is said, has been contrived affording a heat so intense as to eat its way through iron and steel plates almost as readily as a candle flame would through pasteboard. As it can be made small enough to be carried concealed about the person, and to do its work without noise, it will be seen that safes will afford no security against blowpipe burglars.

## An Ingenious Application of Photography.

We hear of an ingenious application of photography made at the Chanciade Quarries, near Perigueux, where an accident occurred, caused by the caving in of the wall. Five persons were imprisoned in the rocks, and no means were at hand to rescue them. To find out where they were, a shaft twelve inches in diameter was bored, and down this was slid a tube, near the end of which was a small photographic camera, surrounded by a battery of electric lights. The camera moved on a point, so that it could be moved up or down by pulling a cord. With this apparatus a number of good negatives were taken. The effects of the disaster were seen, and excellent pictures of the faces of two corpses were obtained, showing that it was useless to proceed further in the excavations.—[Invention.

## Lighting Trains by Electricity.

The train leaving Chicago at 5:30 p. m. for St. Paul on the Milwaukee and St. Paul railway consists of nine cars, and is brilliantly lighted by 131 incandescent lamps of sixteen candle power each. Each day coach has ten lamps, the sleepers twenty-five to thirty-seven and the baggage cars five or six each. The dynamo, engine switches and resistance coils occupy an apartment about five feet wide in one end of a baggage car, and a storage battery of thirty-two cells is placed under each car in the train. When the locomotive is detached from the train, the storage batteries are brought into service and the lights are unaffected. Any car or cars may be separated from the train without interfering with the light of either the train or the detached cars, as the storage batteries amply supply all the lamps. By means of switches in the end of each car, the lamps in the middle, at either end, or on either side of the car may be cut out of circuit without affecting the remainder. The couplings between cars are made with cables placed over the doors and under the projecting roofs.

## Electric Tree Felling Machine.

An electric tree felling machine has been brought out by Messrs. Ganz & Co., of Budapest, especially for use in the Galician forests. The separation of the tree from the stump is in this case not effected by a saw, as is usual, but by a special drill. According to the nature of the wood, this drill may be used either to perforate the base of the tree with a series of holes, placed so close together that when the operation is completed all the fibres have been cut through; or it may be used to take a sweeping cut, in which case the tool is shaped somewhat in the fashion of a twist drill, but with prominent cutting edges along its side. The latter method is adopted for medium hard and for soft woods.

## A Magazine for the Blind.

A new magazine for the blind, in raised Braille type, will shortly make its appearance in London. It will contain original articles and reprints of literary matter of a high class, by the best authors of the day, politics being excluded.

## Perfecting the Elevated Road Electric Motor.

The Daft electric motor "Benjamin Franklin" is now running regularly on the Ninth avenue elevated road in New York city between Fourteenth and Fiftieth streets. Passengers, however, are only taken on at the termini, and the service is confined to certain hours of the day. The train is of three or four cars. The cause of not stopping at intermediate stations is that the locomotor has at present no means of utilizing the air brakes—though this lack is being provided for.

## \$43 Ahead of the Average Citizen.

A Louisville paper speaks of a robbery in which the victim was "a hard working, frugal man, who, by a lifetime of toil, had amassed the sum of \$43 and was about to enjoy a long needed rest."

## PLAIN, BLUNT FACTS.

Boston Globe.

The Boston typographical union has reason to congratulate itself on the way it filled Tremont temple yesterday on the occasion of the visit of Henry George, both as to quantity and quality of the audience. The land reformer pleased his hearers, and judging merely from the applause and enthusiasm, the audience agreed heartily in his view of the labor problem.

He certainly made some strong points. For one thing, he made clear to the printers, in the keen and logical language for which he is noted, just what the Globe has often said: that in order to gain any great and permanent improvement in labor's condition, workingmen must look to such large and general measures as will improve the prosperity of the whole people. Labor can only raise itself to an extent that will be worth the effort, by assisting to make business good. There is no protection for labor like a booming market. Make trade good and there will be little need of strikes. It was for this reason that in the recent presidential campaign the Globe strongly advocated a thorough reform of the trade blighting tariff. Unions and strikes can and do accomplish something, but their results are small compared with the benefits which labor, in common with legitimate capital and business, would derive from the repeal of all those laws which needlessly hamper production and obstruct exchange.

Mr. George also made a point, incidentally, which was likely to set his hearers thinking about the immigration which is now causing so much uneasiness, and about the supposed overcrowded condition of the labor market. After exploding with a few quick sentences and a single illustration the old fashioned doctrine that wages are subtracted from capital—a theory which most modern economists have abandoned—and showing clearly that wages are drawn from the produce of the labor for which they are paid, he went on to show that wages are really an exchange of one kind of labor for another kind of labor or the products of it. For example, if a printer takes his daily wages and buys flour with it, what he has really been "sticking type" for all day is not to obtain greenbacks, but to obtain the labor of the grocer, and the produce of the labor of the farmer who grew the wheat, of the miller who made it into flour, of the railroad hands who transported it, and of the salesmen, clerks and bookkeepers who were concerned in getting it to the grocer who finally delivered it. It is thus that one kind of labor is really and finally paid for in another kind of labor. And it is thus that the doing of one sort of labor makes it possible for another sort of labor to be profitably done. Idle men create no market. It is labor alone that creates effective demand for the produce of other labor. In this view, the more work that is done the greater will be the demand for workers, and it ought to follow that there could be no such thing as too great a supply of laborers as long as any human want remains unsatisfied. What, then, becomes of the fear of excessive immigration?

But the plain, blunt fact is that there now exists in every occupation an apparent margin of labor supply over demand. "There are even too many ministers," said Mr. George; "at least the ministers say so; I don't." What is the cause of this variance between fact and theory? Mr. George believes that it is because natural tendencies are interfered with by artificial institutions. Some laborers, and some capital too, are compelled to remain idle because the labor whose products might purchase other products is unable to gain access to land except on terms which make the working of it unprofitable. In other words, labor in the cities as well as the country is in enforced idleness because land, the source of all wealth, costs too much. This is, substantially, the theory which Mr. George has been trying for ten years to popularize, and he has certainly met with a fair measure of success. His theories, decried at first, have now gained the respectful attention of thinking people, including a large number who do not endorse his proposed method of making the land "free," or very much cheaper, by taxing all the selling value out of it.

We regard it as a good sign, quite apart from the merits of Mr. George's theory, that so intelligent and influential a labor union as that of the Boston printers, should be turning its attention to the larger methods of improving labor's condition. It is in this way only that lasting good can be done. There must be a steady effort on the part of both organized and unorganized labor to influence legislation; not in the narrow interest of any class, but in the interest of better times. The interests of printers, the interests of labor generally, are simply the interests of the whole people—except the monopolists.

## Protection's a Humbug.

Chicago Herald.

As to protection itself, whether there is a surplus of a hundred millions, or a deficit of a billion, the system is false, pernicious and destructive of industrious habits among the masses.

## PERSONAL.

Michael J. Murray, general president of the Laborer's union protective society, and an active participant in the single tax movement, has changed his address from 651 East Thirteenth street to 703 East Twelfth street.

John P. Ryan, Rutland, Vt., answers a letter addressed to T. H. Brown of that city by sending a clipping from the Montreal Witness, which shows that Mr. Brown has been doing admirable work in lecturing on the single tax in Montreal. The Witness gives over a column to a report of Mr. Brown's argument, which appears from the report to have been both sound and cogent. The meeting in Montreal was held under the auspices of the Knights of Labor, who do not there seem disposed to avoid a discussion of the causes of the conditions against which they protest.

W. J. Boreman, Parkersburg, W. Va., is one of the most earnest and efficient workers in the whole country. He has recently got up a little circular which reads as follows: "The Single Tax Means Hope for the Hopeless, Help for the Helpless, and Justice for All!"

James Redpath is traveling in Ireland as the correspondent of the New York Press and San Francisco Examiner. He writes that during the last few years the English masses have begun to feel that Ireland ought to have some sort of fair play.

E. A. Wallazz, editor of the San Francisco Hayes Valley Advertiser, is a Philadelphian. He was a proof reader in the printing office in which Henry George began to learn the printing trade.

Edward Line, sr., of Rochester, has a letter over a column and a quarter in the Democrat and Chronicle on the single tax. As a letter writer Mr. Line is a success.

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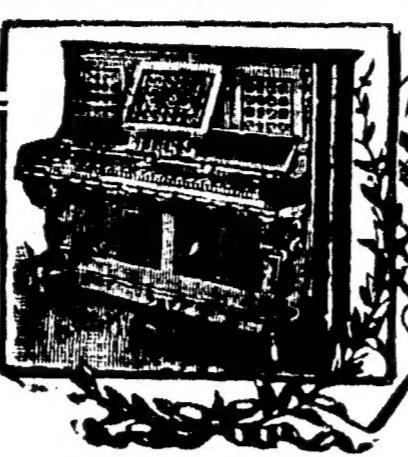
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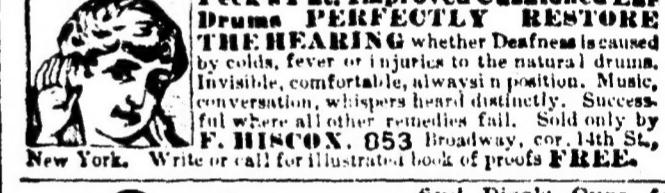
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